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AFP: DISARMAMENT PLAN MAY ELIMINATE U.S. ROLE

NC030920 Paris AFP in English 0909 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] Moscow, 3 Mar (AFP) -- The Soviet Union is working on a new proposal for disarmament in Europe that could effectively eliminate the United States from negotiations, an informed Soviet source reported today.

The proposal would seek to align Soviet nuclear weaponry with the arms in French and British atomic arsenals, and would be formulated in coming weeks, the source said.

The Soviet plan -- which has not been officially announced -- would be to reduce Moscow's intermediate-range SS-20 nuclear weapons to the level of current French and British forces.

Under this proposal, the Soviets would have about 200 missiles either in Europe or capable of reaching Britain and France. The combined British-French force would also amount to 200 missiles after the Soviet reductions.

The plan appeared to be consistent with Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev's stated goal of reducing the number of intermediate-range missiles.

Moscow's plan would include either destruction or transfer of the missiles to the far eastern Soviet Union, where they could not reach Europe. But the idea was not disclosed until today, apparently because of possible European objections.

Among them: the possibility that the plan would force West Germany and Italy to forbid nuclear weapons on their territories, and the potential for the Soviets to redeploy their SS-20s -- which are mobile -- in Europe in case of abruptly heightened tension.

The report by the informed Soviet source appeared to be a first step at testing the European waters for such a plan. The Soviets want to "return Europe to the Europeans," a Soviet source said.

TASS SCORES ROGERS' CALL FOR NATO ARMS BUILDUP

LD031026 Moscow TASS in English 1014 GMT 3 Mar 82

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Pakhomov]

[Text] Washington, 3 Mar, TASS -- The United States intends to strengthen the NATO military machine and to urge on its West European allies along this dangerous path. This is evidenced by a statement made by American General Rogers, the supreme commander of the joint NATO forces in Europe, at a meeting of the House Armed Services Committee on Tuesday. This high-ranking official of the Pentagon stated directly that the USA and its North Atlantic bloc partners should continue to make sacrifices and display determination and solidarity in building up their military might in Europe.

Rogers' statement abounded in inventions about the non-existent "Soviet military menace" and an alleged widening "gap" in the levels of armed strength between the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries. These allegations were used by him as arguments to justify the "need" for further strengthening all types of the NATO armed forces, both conventional and nuclear.

The general expressed "appreciation" to the U.S. administration for its record military budget of 263 billion dollars for 1983. At the same time he expressed displeasure with the fact that not all European allies of the USA obediently follow Washington's militaristic policy.

Not all our allies, General Rogers complained, are equally participating in improving NATO's military positions. The urgent need before the NATO leaders, he said, is to dispel impressions about the lack of unity between the allies.

The general urged that the NATO partners should follow the United States' example and convince the peoples of European countries of the "reality" of the threat which, he said, is hanging over them. Rogers also argues that the build-up of the military budgets of NATO countries was a need despite the economic difficulties experienced on both sides of the Atlantic.

The general praised the NATO decision taken in December, 1979 when the United States actually deceived its allies and imposed on them plans for deploying new American nuclear missile weapons in Europe by promising them to resume SALT talks with the Soviet Union. As is known, the American administration does not display readiness for such talks. Moreover, as follows from Rogers' statement, Washington's priorities are in the sphere of arms build-up, and not arms control

ROGERS' REMARKS ON PEACE MOVEMENT CRITICIZED

LD030104 Moscow TASS in English 1738 GMT 2 Mar 82

[By TASS news analyst Yuriy Borisov]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Mar, TASS -- Speaking at a Senate subcommittee yesterday, General Rogers, supreme allied commander of the NATO forces in Europe, alleged that the movement, mounting in Western European countries against nuclear-missile weapons jeopardized political freedom and obstructed arms control efforts.

The general's accusations were the latest in a series of attacks, launched by the U.S. administration, against the massive movement in Western Europe which is becoming a serious obstacle to Washington's plans of stationing new nuclear-missile systems there. It does not make sense to say that political freedom can be threatened by a movement for peace. The threat to the freedom and the very existence of European nations emanates from elsewhere, namely the Pentagon's resolve to turn Europe into the biggest nuclear arsenal and doom it to become the principal "threatre of operations" with the use of weapons of mass annihilation.

There is not a single ruse Washington would not use to discredit and distort the purport and nature of the most broad-based anti-war actions in Western Europe in the post-war years. It was first claimed overseas that there is "the hand of Moscow" behind the popular actions. But nobody would believe this nonsense. Then, in a bid to bring down the wave of the anti-missile protests, President Reagan moved in himself by coming up with the ill-famed "zero option." That "option," designed to mislead the public, was in fact nothing more than an effort to demand, contrary to the principle of equality and equal security, that the Soviet Union should effect unilateral disarmament. But the West European public quickly realised the true worth of that trick as well.

Washington is continuing, however, to invent one ridiculous lie after another. General Rogers said during his yesterday's speech, for example, that the peace movement was made up of communist agents and their dupes, thrill-seekers and naive youth. These wild inventions cannot be described in any other way than a deliberate insult of people, who wholeheartedly rose up in defence of man's uppermost right, the right to life.

It is common knowledge that the noble movement for peace involves hundreds of thousands of people in West Germany, Holland, Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Spain and other West European states. They represent all parties and trade unions, public organisations and religious associations, and include scientific and cultural workers. However different their political convictions and world outlook may be, they are all motivated by the same aim, that of preventing a nuclear conflagration from breaking out in Europe and forestalling the deployment of new U.S. nuclear-missile weapons in the European Continent. Arms targetted against the USSR would in fact be first-strike weapons. This inevitably endangers the entire continent and poses the biggest-ever threat to Europe and the whole world.

The U.S. administration is also worried by the fact that the new, specific Soviet proposals, forming a package for reducing nuclear arms in Europe, have met with a growing backing from the West European public. Even today the Soviet Union is prepared to come to terms on the complete renunciation by both sides, East and West, of all types of medium-range weapons zeroed in on targets in Europe.

GENEVA TALKS DELEGATE CITED ON NEUTRON BOMB

LD022056 Moscow TASS in English 2027 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] Geneva, 2 Mar, TASS -- The question of banning neutron weapons was not put on the agenda of the disarmament committee because of the opposition of the U.S. delegation but it was stressed in many speeches that the road to neutron danger must be barred. Members of the disarmament committee point out that the decision of the present U.S. administration to start mass production of these weapons caused deep indignation the world over.

Speaking at today's meeting of the disarmament committee, the head of the USSR delegation Ambassador Viktor Israelyan, pointed out that the Soviet Union was the first to draw the attention of peoples to the danger of the emergence of this weapon of mass destruction.

He said great response in the world has been evoked by a statement of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Leonid Brezhnev that the USSR will not start producing neutron weapons unless other states acquire these weapons and that it is ready to conclude an agreement banning these weapons once and forever.

The Soviet representative substantiated the view that neutron weapons are among the most horrible weapons, that all sorts of Washington's references to its "humaneness" are hypocrisy and blasphemy. The neutron bomb, the speaker said, is an instrument of the aggression meant for dealing strikes on cities and industrial centres. The arming with neutron weapons heightens the risk of an outbreak of a global thermonuclear war.

As is known, the USSR and other socialist countries, members of the disarmament committee, submitted for its consideration back in 1978 a draft convention on banning neutron weapons. It includes the pledges of the states not to produce, not to stockpile, not to deploy anywhere and not to use nuclear weapons. It is noted now in Geneva Palace of Nations that this document might serve as a basis for constructive talks. What is needed is only political will of all participants in the talks to rid humanity of the danger of neutron nuclear weapons.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA VIEWS ZERO OPTION, ARMS PARITY

PM030823 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Feb 82 p 3

[Col M. Ponomarev "Military-Political Review"; "Nuclear Trap for Europe"]

[Text] Securing the deployment of the new U.S. medium-range missiles on the territory of a number of West European countries at any cost is the goal that Washington has set itself. U.S. politicians and military figures and mass information organs are tirelessly alleging that without such missiles Western Europe, and with it the entire "Free World," will be left virtually unarmed in the face of "the ever-mounting Soviet might." Only accelerated NATO "arms upgrading" can allegedly "restrain" the USSR.

In reality the U.S. plans have nothing in common with "restraint." They are designed to sharply disrupt the approximate equilibrium that has taken shape between NATO and the Soviet Union in Europe in terms of medium-range nuclear armaments, and thus to alter in the United States' favor the overall global strategic balance, securing a U.S. potential for aggression.

As is well known, medium-range weapons include types of missiles and aircraft in use in the NATO countries which have a range (or radius) of 1,000 km or more and can reach targets on USSR territory from the territories of the West European countries or the waters off Europe.

These weapons also include Soviet armaments of similar range deployed in the European part of the USSR. So approximate parity has existed for many years between the USSR and NATO with respect to these armaments.

The NATO countries now have 986 such armaments in Europe. Over 700 of these belong to the United States. They include F-111, FB-111, F-4 and A-6 and A-7 aircraft based on aircraft carriers cruising off European shores. Britain and France also have medium-range missile and aircraft armaments. Britain has four nuclear submarines carrying 64 Polaris A-3 missiles and 55 Vulcan V-2 bombers, while France has 18 land-based S-2 and S-3 missiles, 5 nuclear submarines carrying 80 M-20 missiles and 46 Mirage IV-A bombers.

The Soviet Union has 975 similar armaments. They include SS-4, SS-5 and SS-20 land-based missiles (496 in all), 18 sea-based missiles and 461 bombers.

Thus, approximate parity in terns of medium-range armaments between NATO and the USSR in Europe objectively exists, whatever the West may allege on this score. Moreover, in terms of the number of nuclear warheads that medium-range armaments can deliver in a single flight or launch, NATO has a certain advantage.

Nonetheless, the West is continuing to speak of supposed USSR superiority in medium-range armaments. Here especially frequent allusion is made to the Soviet SS-20 missile, with the allegation that its adoption has sharply altered the balance of forces in Europe. It is precisely this circumstance that allegedly obliged the NATO countries in December 1979 to adopt the "arms upgrading" decision, that is, the decision to deploy on the territory of the FRG, Britain and Italy, and also possible Belgium and the Netherlands, 572 new U.S. medium-range missiles with nuclear warheads -- 105 Pershing II ballistic missiles and 464 ground-launched cruise missiles.

Well, the Soviet SS-20 is a good missile. Obviously, otherwise there would be no point in using it to replace the older SS-4 and SS-5 missiles, which, incidentally, have already been in commission for a considerable part of their expected life. However, this replacement has not altered the correlation of forces. After all, the new missiles are not being installed in addition to, but rather instead of, the old ones, and with the deployment of one SS-20 missile one or two missiles of other types are being dismantled and their launchers sent for scrap.

But that is not the only point. The development of the new U.S. medium-range missiles and preparation for their deployment in Europe began long before the adoption of the Soviet SS-20 missile.

In the late sixties and early seventies the Americans were already starting to talk about the "need" to modernize the "European potential in the theater nuclear forces" (that is the official U.S. name for the medium-range nuclear armaments). The Pentagon concluded the first contract for the development of the Pershing II missile back in 1969 and in 1975 -- that is, 2 years before the West started to talk about the Soviet SS-20 missiles -- the creation of the Pershing II missile was assigned to an individual program. Then the accelerated development of cruise missiles began. The first contracts in this sphere were signed by the U.S. Defense Department back in 1972.

So, after that, what remains of the U.S. and NATO strategists' allegations that the new U.S. medium-range missiles are being created in response to the Soviet Union's actions?

It was clear from the outset to even slightly informed people that the U.S. "arms upgrading" plans are in reality plans for creating the potential for aggression. After all, Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles are first strike weapons. It takes the Pershing II missiles just 5-6 minutes to reach their target after launching, which makes it difficult to take any defensive steps. True, cruise missiles take longer to cover the same distance -- 2,500 km -- but they reach their target at low altitudes in the order of 60 meters and, because of their small dimensions, have an extremely limited reflective surface, which makes them more difficult to detect by radar. Both types of missile are highly accurate.

It was also clear that with respect to the Soviet Union the new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles are equivalent to strategic missiles, since they are able and are designed to deliver "preemptive" strikes against Soviet ICBM's and other vitally important targets in the western regions of the USSR, that is, targets of strategic significance. The U.S. missiles thus differ fundamentally from the Soviet medium-range missiles, which cannot reach U.S. territory. And, of course, it is absolutely pointless to deliver a first strike against Western Europe and thus bring down on ourselves the fire of the unaffected U.S. strategic arsenal. Not to mention the fact that the very idea of such strikes fundamentally contradicts the very nature of the Soviet state and the defensive Soviet military doctrine.

The new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles are not only weapons of aggression. They are also weapons of provocation, since they are geared to drawing Western Europe into any nuclear adventure which the United States might initiate against the USSR.

Washington does not conceal its calculations that the powerful nuclear potential in Western Europe, if put to use, would invite a Soviet counterstrike and spare U.S. territory from devastation. In general, in seeking to attain their global goals through nuclear war without the risk of being destroyed in it, U.S. ruling circles are nurturing plans for a "limited" nuclear war in Europe without involving strategic nuclear forces. Anxious to profit at Europe's expense, the United States is making hostages of its inhabitants.

Let us repeat it once more: The entire extraordinarily dangerous nature of U.S. "arms upgrading" plans was clear from the outset. That is why, in seeking its NATO allies' agreement to these plans, Washington was obliged in 1979 to embark on the so-called "dual decision" -- deployment of its medium-range missiles in Europe and talks with the Soviet Union on limiting nuclear armaments on the continent.

For a little over 2 years, however, the United States has done everything to avoid such talks. Only the Soviet Union's persistent struggle to curtail nuclear armaments in Europe and to remove the danger of war from society's life and the European peoples' clearly expressed desire to avoid nuclear catastrophe have obliged the U.S. administration to embark on talks with the USSR.

However, the course of the Soviet-U.S. talks on the limitation of nuclear arms in Europe cannot fail to cause some alarm. The U.S. delegation submitted for the USSR's examination a draft treaty containing a reiteration of the U.S.' so-called "zero option" proposal. Essentially, this proposal comes down to an attempt to violate the fundamental principle of the sides' parity and equal security and to seek the USSR's disarmament.

In actual fact the "zero option" promoted by Washington presupposes that the USSR will unilaterally dismantle all its medium-range missiles -- not only in the European part of the country but also in its eastern regions. In response the United States...will deploy no additional missiles in Europe. That means that the number of medium-range nuclear missiles now in the possession of the United States and its allies would not be reduced by a single unit, while the number of these weapons on the European part of the USSR would be more than halved. As a result, NATO would have a more than twofold advantage in numbers of medium-range nuclear weapon delivery vehicles and a threefold advantage in numbers of nuclear warheads.

As for the Soviet Union, it is prepared to agree not on a phony "zero" option but a genuine one — the total renunciation of all types of nuclear weapons in Europe, both medium-range and tactical. And if the West is not ready for this, the USSR suggests reaching agreement on a large-scale -- more than threefold — gradual reduction by both sides of their medium-range nuclear missiles while preserving equilibrium in terms of the NATO and Soviet weapons that are being limited at all stages of the reductions.

This simple, sensible and fair proposal met with the support and approval of all who cherish the interests of the European peoples' security.

That is not how it was treated across the ocean. U.S. Under Secretary of State W. Stoessel stated after the publication of the new Soviet initiative: "The situation is definitely absolutely clear. The decision will read: to deploy the missiles unless an agreement is reached with the Russians that they will completely dismantle their medium-range missiles." And again: "Of course, we are continuing our preparation for missile deployment."

It would seem that it could not be put more clearly. It emerges from the words of this official U.S. spokesman that Washington is continuing its irresponsible toying with the destiny of the European peoples and all mankind. Its desire to deploy the new medium-range nuclear arms in Europe come what may is one of the main links in the chain of its perfidious and criminal designs -- the chain in which the U.S. "chemical rearmament" plans have also become a link.

The TASS statement, that was just published on these plans emphasizes that "the aggressor will not avoid retribution whatever weapons -- nuclear, neutron, chemical or others -- he may use." The unbridled buildup of arsenals of mass destruction weapons will give its initiators no dividends.

ZAMYATIN AT DISARMAMENT COLLOGUIUM IN BAVARIA

LD022245 Moscow TASS in English 2009 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] Tutzing, Bavaria, 2 Mar, TASS -- An international colloquium of the theme "Ensuring Peace by Disarmament" is under way here. Head of the Soviet delegation, Leonid Zamyatin delivered at the colloquium a report "Disarmament Is Vital for Europe."

The speaker drew the attention of the public to new peace proposals advanced by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Leonid Brezhnev during the visit to the FRG in 1981.

The groundlessness of the assertions about the Soviet "military superiority" was shown on the basis of factual data, the real meaning of military preparations intensified by the USA has been revealed. It was stressed that there exists a rough parity of armed forces between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. The USSR comes out for general and complete disarmament under strict international control and is prepared to discuss with the West any proposal bringing humanity closer to this aim.

The only condition favoured by the USSR is a steady observance of the principles of parity and equal security. The USSR holds that there are no international problems that could not be discussed at the conference table and decided, if not at once, then stage by stage. The Soviet Union made over 100 proposals on disarmament. There is no type of weapon on which the Soviet Union is not prepared to reach agreement.

The lowering of the level of military confrontation, the speaker said, would be promoted also by the mutual commitments of the sides to keep from deploying in Europe new medium-range nuclear weapons for the period of the talks, to freeze quantitatively and qualitatively medium-range weapons that have already been deployed in the region.

The report of the Soviet spokesman evoked great interest.

PONOMAREV ON USSR NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES PROPOSALS

LD030032 Moscow TASS in English 1747 GMT 2 Mar 82

[By TASS news analyst Leonid Ponomarev]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Mar, TASS -- In replies to the Japanese writers, authors of an appeal against nuclear war, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Leonid Brezhnev suggested concluding a convention on strengthening guarantees of the security of non-nuclear states and an agreement on non-deployment of nuclear weapons on the territories of those states where there are no such weapons at present.

Leonid Brezhnev stressed the Soviet Union says most definitely that it will never use nuclear weapons against those states which refuse to produce or acquire these weapons and which do not have them on their territories. Moreover, the Soviet Union is prepared to conclude a special agreement in this respect with any of the non-nuclear states.

Countries of the socialist community, striving to avert nuclear war, to improve international climate were the first to express concern about the security of non-nuclear countries that have no nuclear weapons on their territories, that refuse to produce or acquire them.

The declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries adopted at the meeting of the political consultative committee in Moscow on November 1978 emphasised that non-nuclear countries having no nuclear weapons on their territories have a right to be given guarantees that nuclear weapons will not be used against them. In accordance with this course, the USSR made an important action by declaring and confirming that it will not be using nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries that do not allow their deployment on their territories.

Guided by the same goals, the Soviet Union assesses positively the idea of creating nuclear-free zones in the world, above all in various parts of the European Continent. The Soviet Union's stand in the question of guarantees of the security of countries included in such zones is clear: The USSR proceeds from the view that while creating nuclear-free zones it is necessary that nuclear powers should pledge themselves to respect the status of such zones, not to deploy their weapons there, not to nuclear weapons under any circumstances [as received] against states included in the zones and not to threaten by their use.

Such pledges by the Soviet Union were made clearly in the summer of last year in Leonid Brezhnev's replies to questions of the Finnish newspaper SUOMEN SOSIALDEMOCRAATTI. It was stressed, specifically, in those replies that the Soviet Union, on its part, is prepared to assume the pledge of non-use of nuclear weapons against countries of northern Europe which will become participants in a nuclear-free zone, that is will refuse to produce, acquire and deploy nuclear weapons on their territories. Such a guarantee could be formulated by concluding either a multilateral agreement with the Soviet Union's participation or bilateral agreements with each of the member-countries of the zone.

Thus, over a number of past years the socialist countries worked out an suggested a range of measures on collective and bilateral basis that have quite a definite aim -- to lessen the risk of the outbreak of nuclear war. The Soviet Union is convinced that the implementation of these initiatives will promote the strengthening of security in the world.

PAPER INTERVIEWS VORONKOV ON NORDIC DETENTE

PM030927 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 27 Feb 82 p 7

[Markku Salomaa interview with Institute for World Economy and International Relations Department chief Lev Voronkov: "Nuclear-Free Zone the Nordic Countries' Only Chance" -- date and place not specified]

[Text] The well-known Soviet peace researcher Lev Voronokov thinks it obvious that the present military policy developments will disturb the situation in the Nordic countries "unless the Nordic countries abandon their power politics." As far as Norway and Denmark are concerned, the present trend could ultimately lead to the countries' becoming targets for nuclear devastation. The only realistic solution to the Nordic countries' security problems would be the creation of a zone whose nuclear-free status would be guaranteed under any circumstances, the Soviet researcher said.

Voronkov also looked at relations between Finland and the Soviet Union and said that he believes in President Mauno Koivisto's chances of building up close and fruitful relations with the leaders in the Kremlin.

Dr Lev Voronkov is well known among political researchers in the Nordic countries. He has written several books and articles on the Nordic countries. This year will see the publication of a study on a nuclear-free zone in the Nordic countries. It will be published by the Institute for World Economy and International Relations, where Voronkov is a departmental chief.

Voronkov takes the view that Denmark's, Norway's and Sweden's security policies are based on power politics -- that is, on military rearmament for a possible future war.

"Finland's policy since World War II is an example of a different type of policy. Finland has declared that its foreign policy is the main instrument for guaranteeing its national security, Voronkov stressed.

Voronkov said further that it is very dangerous for the Nordic countries that Denmark and Norway are increasingly committing themselves to NATO's plans. Voronokov completely rejected the idea that there is a balance or status quo among the Nordic countries.

"Norway's and Denmark's military preparations inside NATO -- joint maneuvers, stockpiling heavy U.S. armaments and the bases -- are very dangerous features."

It is Voronkov's view that the Nordic countries are in the process of altering the declared principles of their policies step by step.

"The countries are thus preparing for war and are not excluding the possibility that their territory could be used as the point of origin for a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union."

Even though Norway and Denmark do not allow nuclear arms on their territory during peacetime, Voronkov considers that it is precisely with the help of the heavy material being stockpiled in Norway that it would be possible to launch nuclear warheads. "I do not think that they intend to fire these nuclear arms on their own territory. Norway and Denmark are part of an offensive strategy against the Soviet Union," Voronkov said.

In Voronkov's view it has become increasingly obvious even to Sweden that the country would be unable to defend itself against these nuclear arms even after the most intensive rearmament program.

"It would be very difficult for Sweden to defend its territory against cruise missiles."

Voronkov pointed out that Finland and the Soviet Union have not arranged joint military maneuvers despite the friendship, cooperation and mutual aid treaty between them, which has been in force since 1948.

"Joint maneuvers are possible only if negotiations have come to the joint conclusion that there is a danger of attack. Only then could joint military steps be taken.

"In the light of this it is difficult to see that there is supposed to be some sort of balance. There is no balance but imbalance when we look at the real military preparations," Voronkov explained.

"We possess the capacity to annihilate and we will not permit the United States to destroy this strategic obstacle. That possibility is completely excluded."

According to Voronkov, the fate of the Nordic countries is also greatly dependent on whether or not they decide to refuse to accept nuclear arms on their territory in crisis and war situations too.

"This is a minimum requirement for the creation of a nuclear-free north," Voronkov said.

If the Nordic countries could give guarantees that they would not accept nuclear arms under any circumstances it would not be necessary for the Soviet Union to allocate arms for counterattacks against them, Voronkov added.

"The Soviet Union is prepared to destroy those sites where people may be ready to deploy nuclear arms. These arms would not be of any use to them in the future."

Vornokov takes the view that it is completely impossible for the Nordic countries to solve their security problems other than through negotiations and securing guarantees.

"There is a real need to find a solution, which does not base itself on force and military confrontation, to these countries' security problems.

"A solution based on peaceful coexistence and detente should be found.

"All the countries should first express their positive desire to create a nuclear-free zone. Then the Soviet Union would be ready to take part in negotiations," Voronkov assured me.

"Since this zone is, first, politically important and, second, militarily important, it is also important for the whole process of detente and for relations among the countries in Europe in general."

Voronkov said he thought that it was also in the interests of the Soviet Union that Finland should maintain good relations with the other Nordic countries.

"The logic of the Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Treaty means that Finland should strive to maintain as good relations as possible not only with the other Nordic nations but also with other countries.

"Good relations means that detente and disarmament are promoted."

Voronkov believes in President Mauno Koivisto's chances of building up close and successful relations with the Kremlin leaders. He believes that Koivisto's background impacts on these chances.

"It is now President Koivisto's task to convince the leaders in the Kremlin.

"There is no reason -- on the basis of the Soviet criticism of social democracy, for example -- to draw the conclusion that there should be a lack of confidence between Koivisto and the Soviet leadership.

"The question of personal relations must be left to the future. The leaders will meet in the future, as is the custom.

"I do not believe the Kremlin has any prejudices about Koivisto's foreign policy. All will depend on the foreign policy Koivisto pursues," Voronkov explained.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON BLOC ARMY DAY CELEBRATIONS

PM021333 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Feb 82 p 3

[TASS roundup dated 23 February: "The Peoples' Gratitude"]

[Excerpts] Public meetings, receptions and other events have been held in many countries to mark the 64th anniversary of the creation of the Soviet Army and Navy.

Wreath-laying ceremonies were held at the cemetery-mausoleum to the Soviet servicemen who gave their lives for Warsaw's liberation and at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in which PZPR Central Committee Politburo members and secretaries S. Olszowski and M. Milewski took part.

A ceremonial meeting of working people's representatives and Bulgarian People's Army servicemen was held in Sofia. Bulgarian Deputy Minister of National Defense Lt Gen G. Karamfilov stated that the Soviet Army, borne of the Great October Socialist Revolution, is reliably defending its people's peaceful labor and is a bulwark of peace and socialism on earth.

Wreaths were laid at the monument in honor of the liberating Soviet Army. Taking part in the ceremony was D. Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense.

In Havana, Division Gen. R. Garcia Fernandez, vice minister of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces, addressed a ceremonial meeting.

The Soviet Army, created under V.I. Lenin's leadership, has traveled a glorious combat path and won a resolute victory in the struggle against the common enemy -- fascism -- a ceremonial meeting in Belgrade emphasized.

EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA CEMA REVIEW OMITS POLAND

PM030753 [Editorial Report] Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 8 signed to press 15 February carries on page 20 the 3,000-word first part of an article entitled "The CEMA Countries' Economies in 1981" by A.A. Kalashnikov, V.B. Lazarev, N.A. Vlasov and I.I. Potemkina, staffer of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade all-union scientific research institute of market conditions. The article, under the rubric "In the Socialist Countries," notes improvements in agricultural and industrial production in the countries reviewed (Vietnam, the GDR, Cuba and Mongolia) while also indicting "difficulties" in the production of certain raw materials and in capital construction in the SRV and, in Cuba's case, in falling world sugar prices. The review stresses the importance of cooperation within CEMA for the countries, further economic development.

EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA No 9 signed to press 22 February carries a 3,000-word second article under the same headline and rubric but by USSR Foreign Trade Ministry Institute staffer V.I. Kartsev, O.G. Volotov, M.I. Zhernov and N.N. Pusenkov. As in part one, the reviewers list overall improvements in production figures and in per capita "real incomes" while noting individual failures in Bulgarian chemicals, fibers and oils and Hungarian mining. On Romania, the reviewer cites a Ceausescu statement on the adverse effect of capitalist "crises phenomena" on the fulfillment of the country's plan while the fourth and final review, on the CSSR, notes a fall in that country's agricultural output.

IZVESTIYA ON BENEFITS OF COMMUNITY PROJECTS

PM281239 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Feb 82 Morning Edition p 4

[G. Ustinov: "The Route of Friendship"]

[Text] The 20th anniversary of the commissioning of the Druzhba oil pipeline, the first major project of socialist economic integration, is currently being celebrated. At the end of February 1962 Bratislava's Slovnaft set about refining the first consignment of oil.

It is difficult to calculate all the advantages that the Druzhba pipeline, which over the years has developed into a whole complex of main pipelines, has brought for the countries of our community. Above all, it has meant an enormous saving on transportation. Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and the GDR have built major oil-refining and petrochemical industries around Druzmba, thus creating an important base for modern technological progress. The Soviet Union, the main purchaser of the fraternal countries exported output, is also reaping the fruits.

At a time when the price of liquid fuel on the world market has risen sharply, and the main center of Soviet oil extraction has moved to way beyond the Urals, our CEMA partners are lending their best endeavors to ensuring that every ton of Soviet "black gold" is used with maximum care and to maximum effect.

CEMA has been in existence for over 3 decades. Creativity and the constant pursuit of new forms and methods have always been the distinguishing characteristics of CEMA's activity. The consistent implementation of the comprehensive program of socialist economic integration plays a particularly important role. In accordance with the plans for integration the countries of the socialist community have created Mir, the world's largest unified power system, have built the Soyuz main gas pipeline, have organized a joint pool of freight cars and are implementing long-term plans for cooperation in the field of nuclear energy, as well as other major projects.

Planned cooperation enables the CEMA countries to use their own resources more fully and also to enjoy the benefits of the international division of labor. This considerably weakens the impact on the socialist economy of the crisis shocks that periodically shake the world capitalist economy and makes it possible to look to the future with confidence.

"The world socialist community is developing steadily," says the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR." "...Economic integration is deepening on the basis of long-term targeted programs. Life itself has set the fraternal countries the task of supplementing the coordination of plans with agreement on economic policy as a whole."

Our cooperation must grow and strengthen and must go from one bold plan to the next, for behind it lies a community of goals and a common labor that is both a great and joyful one.

MIKHAYLOV COMMENTS AT CSCE PLENARY SESSION CITED

LD262002 Moscow TASS in English 1933 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Madrid, 26 Feb, TASS -- Member of the Soviet delegation K.F. Mikhaylov spoke at a plenary session of the Madrid meeting today.

The Soviet representative, having condemned the actions of the U.S. delegation designed to poison the atmosphere of the meeting and to block its work, said that the interests of consolidating security and cooperation in Europe demanded renunciation of confrontation and of futile polemics, and a passage over to constructive deliberations. One can no longer postpone a solution to the central problem of our time -- that of strengthening peace and preventing war. This is one of the fundamental requirements of the Final Act adopted by the conference at Helsinki.

Any concepts, actively touted above all by U.S. representatives, whose essence boils down to making a solution of the question of convening a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe contingent on some other factors, and moreover ones that have nothing to do with the Madrid meeting, possess some inherent vice. In any artificial linkage of some problems with others it is in effect impossible to resolve any of the international problems.

The experience of history indicates, the Soviet representative said, that this kind of linkages delayed by whole decades a normalization of the situation in Europe, and solution of many international problems, including those in the field of disarmament. If this "diplomacy of linkages" were still followed, when we, for instance, would be lacking a whole set of agreements on limiting the arms race and on disarmament, concluded in the sixties and the seventies.

The Soviet representative cited in this connection Leonid Brezhnev's statement: "Diplomacy calls not for 'linkages,' but rather for 'denouncements,'" Leonid Brezhnev stressed. "The tangled knot of conflict situations and contentious issues of the modern world cannot be cut by any sword. The only way is that of patient and constructive negotiations, negotiations assuring a real reduction and destruction of weapons."

The Soviet representative further dwelt at length on an analysis of the military policy of the United States in the years following the signing of the Final Act, demonstrating the militarist essence of that policy posing a threat to peace in Europe and globally.

The threat suspended over the world, the Soviet representative went on to say, demands that all states, and above all the USA, exercise restraint and show respect for the legitimate interests of each other as well as an honest desire to find a common language in safeguarding security and developing cooperation, in Europe [words indistinct] others. The Soviet Union's constructive approach has once again been convincingly confirmed in the reply of Leonid Brezhnev to the letter of an Australian organization championing international cooperation and disarmament. It says, among other things, the following: "We are prepared to give an unprejudiced consideration to any proposals of the other side on disarmament. I can assure you that we carefully study the positions and proposals of the other side and we never reject them outright. We approach to their assessment with one yardstick -- namely to what extent they meet the task of preventing war and strengthening peace and respond to the principle of equality and equal security." Thus, the renunciation of attempts to obtain unilateral military advantages, the respect for the principle of equality and equal security -- is the only and realistic basis for any negotiations, any dialogue.

It would be good if they in the West, including the USA, realized that peace and tranquility are needed by all the participating states, and not only by the countries of the socialist community.

Not confrontation, the USSR delegate said in conclusion, not polemics but rather seeking generally acceptable solutions in the interests of peace and security -- this is the task for all delegations in the way towards a successful completion of the Madrid meeting, and above all of the adoption of the decision to convene a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe whose necessity has of late been mentioned by representatives of a whole number of delegations.

As regards the Soviet delegation, it has consistently abided by precisely this position.

IZVESTIYA ASSAILS U.S. STANCE AT MADRID TALKS

LD012248 Moscow TASS in English 2125 GMT 1 Mar 82

[Text] Moscow, 1 Mar, TASS -- IZVESTIYA points out today that since the resumption of the Madrid meeting the head of the American delegation Kampelman speaks at its sessions about anything but not about the substance of the items under discussion.

"Here is yet another proof of this", the newspaper says. "At the latest plenary session, the Soviet delegation again called on the representatives of the NATO countries to pass over to constructive work. The head of the U.S. delegation, as has become known to newsmen, answered to this appeal by reiterating the hackneyed anti-Soviet inventions".

"An escalation of the slanderous attacks against the USSR by the head of the U.S. delegation in Madrid, IZVESTIYA points out, 'crowns' a truly unheard-of statement. Kampelman allowed himself a statement to the effect that he feels indignation over the social system in the Soviet Union. One surely has lost any sense of reality to make such statements".

These statements, the article says, "provide added proof of the fact that some of the politicians overseas, having made it a rule to dictate to other peoples and to try to arrogantly teach them what to do, are trying to remodel the world to their own liking".

Of course, IZVESTIYA says, one could say a lot on this score but we shall confine ourselves to only this remark: No matter how angry the overseas bullies may get, the course of history is not within their power to change".

CSCE COMMITTEE DELEGATION, NORWEGIAN GROUPS MEET

LD030058 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1742 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] Oslo, 2 Mar, TASS -- A delegation of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation led by Aleksandra Biryukova, member of the CPSU Central Committee, and secretary of the AUCCTU and deputy president of the committee, was in Oslo from 25 February to 2 March. The delegation met with representatives of the Communist Party leadership and a number of other Norwegian political parties, the Central Association of Trade Unions and Industrial Trade Unions, the Norwegian Peace Committee and the Women for Peace Movement. In the course of their discussions, serious concern was expressed over the international situation, which has worsened sharply, and the need to adopt definite measures aimed at restricting the arms race, above all the nuclear arms race, was stressed. The great role of the public in ensuring peace and achieving results in the field of disarmament was noted particularly.

SOVIET GROUP PROTESTS U.S. CHEMICAL REARMAMENT

LD261958 Moscow TASS in English 1820 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Moscow, 26 Feb, TASS -- The Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, speaking on behalf of the Soviet public, expressed protest against President Reagan's decision to implement the multibillion programme for the "chemical rearmament" of the United States and the production of new types of chemical weapons.

Trying to justify its decision, the committee's statement reads, Washington slanderously claims that it is intended supposedly to deter the Soviet Union from using these weapons. The Soviet position on that issue, however, is well known: The USSR has always advocated and is consistently working for outlawing altogether these criminal means of warfare and destroying their stockpiles.

The Soviet committee urged the European public to make its decisive contribution towards curbing the Pentagon's chemical ventures. "It is the immediate duty of all the peace-loving people in the world to raise their voice, to put up an obstacle to the mad plans of the American military and to achieve the prohibition of chemical weapons", the statement stresses.

'PEACE-LOVING GOALS' OF FOREIGN POLICY VIEWED

PM011107 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 82 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Leninist Peace Strategy"]

[Text] The Leninist peace strategy is the foundation of the foreign policy course of the CPSU and Soviet state. Our foreign policy is oriented unreservedly toward the establishment of lasting world peace and mutually advantageous cooperation between states with different social systems and toward ending the arms race and saving the peoples from the threat of war.

The peace-loving goals of Soviet foreign policy are not just declared. They are enshrined in the USSR Constitution. They are confirmed by our party and state's entire day-to-day activity in the international arena. They are being persistently and purposefully implemented in concrete actions and practical deeds.

The peace program for the eighties set out at the 26th CPSU Congress was an important stage in the implementation of the Leninist foreign policy course. Expounding the program, L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, stressed: "For our party, our people and for all the peoples of the world there is no task in the international sphere more important than defending peace."

During the year since the congress the international public has more than once been able to see that our party keeps its word. Acting consistently and persistently, the Soviet Union is filling the program's provisions with concrete initiatives, striving to ease the war threat, strengthen peace and deepen detente. The distinctive traits of our initiatives are their historical sweep, political boldness and far-sightedness and genuine humanity.

L.I. Brezhnev's talks and conversations in the FRG were a major political act and practical implementation of the peace program for the eighties. During the talks Comrade L.I. Brezhnev set forth a program for curtailing nuclear arms in Europe which is in keeping with the aspirations of all the peoples and the demands of the broad masses. The active implementation of our peace-loving foreign policy program is of paramount significance for mankind's destiny in the present situation, in which international imperialism and its leading forces -- the United States -- are presenting an increasingly overt challenge to the peoples' peaceful future.

Washington's policy poses a growing threat to international peace and security.

Crude pressure, blackmail, provocations and overt interference in the affairs of other states and peoples have become the daily practice of U.S. foreign policy. Violating the elementary norms of international intercourse, the U.S. administration is interfering in Poland's internal affairs and is trying to bring about the transformation of that country into a seat of tension in Europe.

For Europe, the NATO plans to deploy new U.S. nuclear weapons in West European countries could be a disastrous step. Their implementation poses the threat of a new round of the most dangerous arms race. Essentially, the NATO decision to "upgrade arms" and, equally, the notorious "zero option" proposed by Washington are geared to shattering the present military equilibrium in Europe and in the world as a whole to the detriment of the security of the USSR and its allies.

Our country opposes Washington's perilous game with a clear-cut course toward eliminating the war danger and seeking a constructive solution of urgent international problems. This is manifested also in the course of the Geneva talks. The Soviet Union is ready right now to come to an agreement on the total renunciation by both sides -- East and West -- of all types of medium-range weapons aimed at targets in Europe. We may go even further once agreement has been reached on completely ridding Europe of medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons. Now that would be a real "zero option."

But if the West is not yet ready for a radical solution, the Soviet Union proposes that agreement be reached at the Geneva talks on a large reduction of medium-range nuclear weapons by both sides -- by hundreds of units. Each side could reduce the present quantity of medium-range nuclear armaments by 2/3 and even more by 1990, taking it in stages. This would be an important contribution to military detente.

The USSR's constructive stance on the matter of reducing nuclear weapons aimed at targets in Europe indicates our country's desire to get the process of military detente in Europe moving, to ensure lasting peace for our home, Europe, and effect a shift in disarmament questions in general. This is reaffirmed by L.I. Brezhnev's answers to a letter from Australian peace movement participants published the other day.

In putting forward important initiatives in the international arena and actively defending the interests of the peace and the peoples' security, the Soviet Union is acting in close coordination with the fraternal socialist countries. Collaboration between the Soviet Union and the other socialist community states in the struggle for peace is becoming ever closer.

The Soviet state's policy in international affairs, as the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the 60th Anniversary of the USSR's Formation" stresses, is deeply humanitarian (gumanistichnyy), is open and democratic and accords with the interests of the USSR peoples, the fraternal socialist countries and all peace-loving mankind. This secures for it the support of the broadest circles of the international public and all people of good will.

The USSR's peace-loving policy is at the same time a policy of firm rebuff to the aggressive aspirations of imperialism, with which the anti-Soviet line of the present Chinese leadership keeps close company. Those who are trying to encroach on our security and the security of our allies should remember that the socialist community has all it needs to defend its historic revolutionary gains.

Soviet people warmly support our country's principled line in the international arena determined by the 26th CPSU Congress. The firm defense of peace and the realistic, constructive initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union are a concrete expression of the Leninist strategy of peace.

MUNICH MEETING SHOWS U.S.-WEST EUROPE TENSION

AU021433 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 28 Feb 82 p 3

["Our Commentary" by Vladimir Gordeyev: "In a Fever of War Hysteria"]

[Text] Aggressive U.S. imperialist circles and the NATO elite are seeking any pretext to whip up war hysteria. This time the pretext was a conference of the FRG military society Wehrkunde, held in Munich. The choice of participants -- NATO Secretary General J. Luns, U.S. Secretary of Defense C. Weinberger, Gen B. Rogers, NATO supreme allied commander Europe, and others -- determined the atmosphere of militarist clamor in which the conference was held. The American representatives, along with Luns, unpardonably pressured the allies, inciting them to further build up the arms race. The Pentagon boss demanded an annual increase in their military budgets not of 3 percent but now of 4 percent, although the prior NATO decision on a 3 percent increase is not being fulfilled by many of the bloc [NATO] countries.

The "indiscipline" of those countries' ruling circles stems from the fact that they do not share Washington's desire to intensify confrontation with the USSR. The attempts to secure the West European public's agreement to the deployment of American medium-range nuclear missiles in West Europe have failed. Even (Dzh. Petti), British deputy minister of defense [title as published], was forced to admit this at the conference, although, as is well known, the British Government obediently follows the adventurist policy of the American administration. "The U.S. leading West European allies are too geared to detente," the New York TIMES emphasizes, and are reluctant to share with Washington the burden of the confrontation with the Soviet Union which it has begun." "The tension in American-West European relations is constantly increasing," Belgian External Relations Minister L. Tindemans stated in NEWSWEEK magazine.

The Munich conference was yet more evidence of that clear fact, despite all the endeavors of its organizers to display "Atlantic solidarity."

INDIA THREATENED BY U.S., PAKISTANI, PRC 'AXIS'

LD262002 Moscow in English to South and Southeast Asia 1400 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Viktor Sivakov commentary]

[Text] According to the PRESS TRUST OF INDIA, the Indian Government has postponed the scheduled visit by its delegation to Islamabad to continue Indo-Pakistani talks. Here is a comment from our observer Viktor Sivakov.

The fact that the visit has been postponed means that the talks are being put off indefinitely. The immediate reason for the decision was the provocative statement on the situation in Kashmir made by the Pakistani representative at the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva. He compared the situation in Kashmir with that in Namibia and on the Arab territories occupied by Israel. Thereby an attempt was made to internationalize the Kashmir issue and involve in the dispute other countries and international organizations.

Pakistan's open interference in India's internal affairs has been regarded in Delhi as contradicting the letter and spirit of the Simla Agreement signed by the civilian Government of Pakistan and the Government of India. At the recent Indo-Pakistani talks held at foreign ministers level in Delhi, the Indian side also proceeded from the assumption that all problems of Indo-Pakistani relations should be settled on a bilateral basis.

It was suggested that a mixed commission be set up for regular consultations.

The statement by the Pakistani representative in Geneva showed that Islamabad was not ready for such an approach and was at least inclined to stick to the principles of noninterference and respect for the sovereignty in relations with India. The matter is obviously not only in Kashmir. Nor does the outspokenly militaristic line issued by Islamabad accord with the dialogue. Pakistan has been purchasing offensive arms of American and Chinese manufacture and has been trying to get hold of nuclear weapons. The bulk of the Pakistani Army units is concentrated along the border with India. Pakistan's territory is made available to the United States for setting up military bases there. Chinese troops have been admitted to that part of Kashmir which is controlled by Pakistan. This actually means that a strategic axis is planned between Washington, Beijing and Islamabad against India. Military preparations in Pakistan are matched by similar steps in other areas. India is facing a direct threat to its security from China's military buildup in Tibet and from the Pentagon's military base on the Diego Garcia island. No matter how hard it tries, Islamabad has failed to dispel India's misgivings over Pakistan's involvement in the military preparations of the United States and China. India reasonably regards this aspect of Pakistan's policy as the chief obstacle standing in the way of normalization on the south Asian subcontinent. It also regards this Axis as a sign of Pakistan's unwillingness to conclude a nonaggression treaty.

Observers believe that Islamabad's diplomatic maneuvers over the issue were designed to discredit India's foreign policy and justify Pakistan's intensive military preparation.

PRAVDA COMMENTS ON SOUTH-SOUTH CONFERENCE

LD280916 Moscow TASS in English 0705 GMT 28 Feb 82

[Text] Moscow, 28 Feb, TASS -- Vsevolod Ovchinnikov comments in PRAVDA on the results of the South-South Conference.

He recalls that the debates conducted by the participants in the conference in Delhi focused on two main topics. Firstly, how to set moving the so-called North-South dialogue, that is talks between young nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America on the one hand and industrialised capitalist powers on the other on establishing a new international economic order. Secondly, how to conduct such a dialogue, with the "North" being unwilling, how to strengthen South-South ties, that is to invigorate various forms of cooperation between developing nations.

The newly-free countries, the writer points out, have since long been demanding an end to inequality and injustice in the system of foreign trade ties, confirmation of the states' unconditional sovereignty over their natural wealth, limitation of arbitrariness of transnational corporations, and democratization of the order of adopting decisions in international monetary and credit organizations. "The U.N. General Assembly, backed by the socialist community, decided way back in 1979 to hold talks with the participation of all the states on key aspects of establishing a new international economic order."

However, the commentary points out, Washington is stubbornly blocking the implementation of the resolution, although it finds it increasingly more difficult to win over following. President Reagan, at the North-South meeting in Cancun in October, did not dare to oppose the global talks, but made American participation in them subject to a number of reservations. Now, Vsevolod Ovchinnokov writes, he adds new reservations to those already moved in Cancun.

Instead of talks within the U.N. framework, Washington put forward the idea of having a series of regional meetings. Young nations rejected the idea as unacceptable. "As a result, four months after the Cancun meeting, the discussion on the same topic was resumed not as a dialogue, but as a monologue: The developing nations had to discuss problems which concern them between themselves, rather than with those who sabotage their solution."

REPORTAGE ON 38TH OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS SESSION

Moroccan Walkout

PM251537 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 82 p 5

[Correspondent A. Serbin report: "OAU Session Opens"]

[Text] Addis Ababa, 23 Feb -- The routine, 38th session of the OAU Council of Ministers has begun work here. On the agenda are discussions of the organization's budget and also a number of urgent political issues.

At the opening of the session a speech was delivered by Fikre-Selassie Wodgeress, general secretary of the Provisional Military Administration Council and member of the Executive Committee of the Commission for the Organization of the Party of Working People of Ethiopia. Africa's main concern today, he said, is still the question of the acquisition of true freedom and human dignity for our fellow citizens of the continent who are continuing the struggle in Namibia and South Africa -- the last bastions of colonialism and racism in the world.

Africa's other main problem, the speaker noted, is that of ensuring stability, peace and respect for territorial integrity for every independent African state.

For the first time, the Polisario Front [Popular Front for the Liberation of Sagui el Hamra and Rio de Oro], which is fighting for self-determination for the Western Sahara, has been officially admitted as a full participant in the work of the routine 38th Session of the OAU Council of Ministers. The OAU leadership informed the Polisario of its admittance as the 51st member of the OAU.

The Moroccan delegation left the session's hall in protest against the Polisario's participation in the session.

Speakers Cited 26 Feb

LD271018 Moscow TASS in English 0620 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Text] Addis Ababa, 26 Feb, TASS -- Participants in the 38th Session of the Ministerial Council of the OAU have approved a report presented by the OAU's Liberation Committee. In the course of its discussion, Secretary for Foreign Relations of the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) P. Mueshihange blamed the racist Republic of South Africa and its Western allies for sharpening the tensions in the south of the continent.

He said that the policy of terrorism pursued by the Pretoria regime has been inspired by imperialist circles, above all by the Reagan administration. The connivance of the USA and other Western powers of the "contact group" on Namibia makes it possible for the racists to openly flout the U.N. decisions on the granting of independence to that country. P. Mueshihange rejected the Western proposals on Namibia.

Member of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa Makatini pointed out that the Pretoria rulers do not stop short of any crimes to preserve the shameful system of apartheid in South Africa and their control of Namibia.

Nigeria's Federal Minister of Interior A. Baba [name as received] expressed the hope that the leadership of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic will be able to establish peace and stability there in the interests of all Africa. Recognition of the right of the people for self-determination, he said, is one of the main principles of foreign policy of Nigeria which from the outset supported the Polisario Front and strove to make its contribution to a peaceful settlement of the program of Western Sahara.

As was pointed out by representative of Ethiopia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, A. Matson, correspondent of the British weekly THE OBSERVER, who provided an "unobjective and unbiased coverage of the work of the Pan-African meeting and slandered the Ethiopian revolution" had been expelled from the country. The day before the correspondent of the American "Voice of America" radio station was deprived of his accreditation at the session and expelled from Ethiopia for offensive attacks on the delegations of independent states.

As was said here by Deputy General Secretary of the Organization of African Unity P. Onu, the OAU's Ministerial Council decided to hold a regular, 39th session, in Tripoli, the capital of Libya, from July 26 to August [illegible] of this year. Tripoli will also host, from 5 to 8 August, the 19th Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the OAU member countries.

Namibia, S. Africa Discussed

LD271716 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 27 Feb 82

[By TASS correspondents B. Bogdanov and Yu. Pichugin]

[Text] Addis Ababa, 27 Feb, TASS -- The unity of independent Africa in the question of the deliverance of the continent's south from the remains of racism and colonialism has been shown by the current 38th Session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in the capital of Ethiopia. According to Peter Onu, deputy secretary-general of the OAU, the delegates, after discussing the qeustion, rejected the so-called Western proposals on Namibia which is illegally occupied by the racist-ruled Republic of South Africa.

The aim of the proposals, Mr Mueshihange, secretary of the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) for external relations, pointed out in his speech, is to ensure the privileges of the white minority to bar the SWAPO from the administration of the country and to establish a neocolonialist regime there. The assistance by the USA and other Western member-powers of the "contact group" on Namibia, he emphasized, enables the racists to openly ignore the UN resolutions on the granting of independence to the country, and encourages the criminal regime to the expansion of aggressive actions against Angola and other independent "frontline" states and to a step-up of reprisals against Namibian population.

The racist-ruled Republic of South Africa and its imperialist allies are stepping up their subversive activity with regard to the progressive states and national-liberation movements of Africa, Jacques Hodoul, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Seychelles, stated at the session. In so doing, international reaction resorts to the services of paid killers. One of the latest manifestations of that was provided by the recent aggression staged by foreign mercenaries against the Seychelles from the territory of the state of apartheid.

The racist authorities of Pretoria, the minister pointed out, are trying to conceal their role in organizing that criminal action and are in every way hindering the work of the UN Security Council's special commission for inquiry into the circumstances of the invasion. However, the facts which the Seychelles Government has available, he emphasized, speak of their direct involvement in the armed attack on the Seychelles. The minister urged all the OAU member-states to ratify immediately the OAU convention against mercenarism in Africa.

Session Ends 28 Feb

LD281918 Moscow TASS in English 1810 GMT 28 Feb 82

[Text] Addis Ababa, 28 Feb, TASS -- The resolve of independent Africa to oppose the intrigues of imperialism and reaction has been shown by a regular [word indistinct] session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which ended here today.

Its participants condemned cooperation of Western powers and Israel with the racist Republic of South Africa.

Utter disregard of the Republic of South Africa for the demands of the international community is a result of the policy of connivance with the racists by the West, say the decisions of the session. Delegates revealed secret contacts of some Western powers with the racist Republic of South Africa, the contacts whose aim is to prevent the granting of independence to Namibia.

GONCHAROV COMMENTS ON 'CRISIS OF CAPITALISM'

PM281501 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Feb 82 p 5

[Article by A. Goncharov: "Noose of the Crisis"]

[Text] The Western press is full of economic information right now. That would seem understandable: At the beginning of the year the results of the last year are summed up and economic prospects for the future are assessed. But it is something else that worries the bourgeois press: Numerous figures draw an extremely gloomy picture of the state of the Western economy. To judge by these figures the crisis which erupted in the capitalist economy in the late seventies and early eighties is continuing to grow. In the FRG, Britain, the Benelux countries, Scandinavia and the other West European countries the volume of industrial production has fallen 3-5 percent.

The U.S. economic situation remains extremely complex and tense. In the presidential elections the Republican Party promised to eliminate the errors of the previous administration's economic policy. Many people in the United States believed that Reagan's proclaimed concepts would help to find a way out of the crisis.

However, when millions of Americans encountered the harsh realities of "Reaganomics," the business situation in the country slumped sharply after a brief revival. Many U.S. experts now believe that the United States is on the threshold of a profound new crisis.

The West is saying and writing a lot about the reasons for such a protracted economic crisis. However, bourgeois specialists are not so much explaining the foundations of the economic disorders as trying to find a fall guy to blame for the economic cataclysms. The monopolies' apologists are presenting the working people as this "fall guy." They have allegedly forced employers to raise wages so much that they no longer accord with the production potential. It is precisely this, the bourgeois scientific mercenaries allege, which is the root of the present so-called "stagflation" (no production growth plus constantly galloping prices).

According to official figures published in the U.S. annual statistical abstract, in the United States alone there are now over 10 million people whose living conditions are below the official "poverty line," that is, simply, they are living in poverty. That is the obverse of the notorious thesis of the working people's "excessive prosperity" in the capitalist countries.

No less popular in the West is the desire to explain the mounting crisis by the rise in prices for raw material and fuel, primarily oil. However, in 1981 the price of oil and that of many types of raw material actually fell, but the production decline in many capitalist countries did not stop.

In fact the crisis situation in the capitalist economy is not linked with market phenomena. The capitalist economy is influenced by factors reflecting specific features of the contradictions of present-day imperialism.

First, it is a case of powerful structural upheavals in the world capitalist economy connected with the widening multinational expansion of the largest monopolies. Another important factor delaying the Western countries' emergence from the crisis is a tough restrictive policy. With its aid the governments of these countries are seeking to shift onto the working people the burden of the difficulties caused primarily by the arms race.

Government circles in the capitalist countries are talking a lot about the need to combat inflation. They proclaim this struggle to be the "number one task" of state policy. However, slogans are not actions, and, of course, not results. The growth of inflation in the West is continuing. Here, too, bourgeois propaganda is blaming all misfortunes on the working people's "excessive strikes" and on the fuel and raw material crisis. But an increasing number of people in the capitalist countries are aware that inflation is the direct result of the spiralling of prices imposed by the monopolies and the increase in budget deficits connected with the gigantic military expenditure.

In the very near future no one expects any improvement in the labor market situation. According to current forecasts, by the end of this year the army of unemployed will be close to 30 million.

Some 12-18 months ago Ronald Reagan promised to extract the U.S. economy from the crisis by means of a fundamental shift in government policy. There was talk of releasing the monopolies from many federal taxes and thus increasing their financial resources. It was believed that the monopolies would use these resources to invest in new enterprises and equipment. Ultimately this was to lead to an expansion in production output, a reduction in prices and the resolution of unemployment. However, life shows that the very style and "upbeat approach" to the solution of the economic and many other problems facing the White House are not working.

Under conditions wherein over 1/4 of production capacities in the U.S. economy are standing idle it is hard to persuade businessmen that it is expedient to invest capital in production. Instead they prefer to use their financial resources for stock market speculations.

The governments of many Western countries see a way out of the crisis by sharply limiting state expenditure, via the state-subsidized budget appropriations to the monopolies and enterprises. In fact they are cutting back social appropriations with one hand and increasing military expenditure with the other. The U.S. administration is particularly zealous in this sphere. Having embarked on the path of the cynical amputation of many budget appropriations of vital importance to the poorest strata of the U.S. population, the Reagan administration is seeking to increase military appropriations for fiscal 1983 to an astronomical sum -- over $250 billion.

In connection with the enormous military expenditure, the budget deficit of the United States and many other Western countries has now assumed unprecedented proportions. To cover them the governments must print more paper money. That means encouraging its devaluation. In order to curb at least to some extent the growth of the money avalanche and to check inflation, the governments are raising the central banks' interest rates, in other words making credit more expensive. Personal consumption and investment are thus restricted -- that is, ultimately the emergence of the Western countries' economy from the period of crisis is being delayed.

The U.S. administration is pursuing a policy of restrictions particularly toughly. After all, balancing the budget was one of Reagan's main promises during the election campaign. However, this promise by the White House incumbent is also in fact proving to be a soap bubble. Interest rates in the United States increased last year to the highest level since the war -- 20 percent and more. But the U.S. deficit is not only not decreasing but is continuing to increase menacingly. It is expected that by the end of this year, that is by 30 September, it will reach a new record level -- over $100 billion. All this attests that even the richest country in the capitalist world cannot peremptorily build up the arms race without grave consequences.

The tough U.S. restrictive policy is causing great harm to other capitalist countries. The high interest rates on Wall Street are attracting net capital from the FRG, France and other Western countries. And this is entailing a weakening in the positions of the currencies of these countries and restricting their governments' opportunities for pursuing an independent economic policy. The monopolies are trying to offset the difficulties arising from falling demand in Western countries' home markets by stepping up exports. But at a time when market conditions are deteriorating practically throughout the world capitalist economy, a corollary of their attempts to expand exports is greater protectionism and a sharpening of interimperialist rivalries.

Anyone can see that the differences between the United States, the EEC countries and Japan are steadily sharpening. The Washington administration is intensifying its efforts to make its partners follow not only the U.S. political lead but also its economic lead. It must be said that in this sphere the White House's idea has failed to find support in the many Western countries which disapprove of the U.S. administration's policy of sabotaging all East-West trade. Moves of this kind could take work away from dozens, indeed hundreds of enterprises in Western countries currently filling orders from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The U.S. administration's maniacal persistence in placing further barriers in the way of East-West trade is, to put it mildly, unwise. Western countries are increasingly speaking out on this matter. That mouthpiece of the British business community, the newspaper FINANCIAL TIMES, which outdoes all others in dutifully following Washington's lead, writes as follows: "The reality is that Western governments cannot decide the course of events in East Europe and should not try to do so." Moreover, an increasing number of people in Western countries are realizing that trying to "punish" the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries can only exacerbate the already grave situation in the capitalist economy. Enterprises operating at less than full capacity, production cuts, firms going bankrupt, the millions of people in the ranks of the unemployed, and financial upsets could all increase still further if Washington succeeds in embroiling its allies more deeply in its discriminatory campaign against the socialist countries, a campaign which, apart from anything else, strikes at the very foundations of international economic relations.

The noose of the crisis has been tightening around the neck of the world capitalist economy for more than 2 years now. More and more industries in these countries are entering a period of difficulty and upsets. The prospects for the future are also gloomy. Most experts expect the crisis situation in the capitalist camp to continue this year too. The current recession in the West, the third in the last 10 years, testifies to the fact that the general crisis of a society in which private monopoly ownership and rivalries rule supreme continues to deepen.

BUGAYEV SCORES U.S. DISRUPTION OF AIR LINKS

LD021404 Moscow TASS in English 1341 GMT 2 Mar 82

["Why Air Links Between the Soviet Union and the United States Became Disrupted" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Mar, TASS -- "I believe that common sense will ultimately prevail," Boris Bugayev, minister of civil aviation of the USSR, has told a correspondent of the newspaper LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in connection with the cancellation of Aeroflot regular flights to the United States on the initiative of the American authorities.

This sanction by the American administration, he said in an interview in the March 3 issue of the newspaper, became the first in a series of other measures now denounced by world public opinion. They were imposed in connection with the Polish developments which are an entirely internal matter of sovereign People's Poland, the matter of Poles alone.

Citing numerous instances of provocations staged by American authorities against Aeroflot, the Soviet minister stressed: "Activisation of business cooperation between our countries, including in civil aviation, was against the liking of gentlemen from the military-industrial complex, who, as is known, are trying to disrupt detente, heighten international relations [as received] and hamper, as far as possible, business ties between the Soviet and American peoples."

The position of the American side initiated the launching of a campaign designed to curtail actually air links between the Soviet Union and the United States, Bugayev said. The course toward complications was taken long ago: The bosses of American military-industrial concerns are interested in preserving international tension and the arms race.

At the same time, the Soviet minister stressed, "we are convinced that the attempts to reduce to naught Soviet-American cooperation in civil aviation which went on for many years, no matter under what smokescreen they might be carried out, run counter primarily to the interests of the American people and, in particular, thousands of Americans who lost the possibility to use the direct, most economical and shortest air link during visits to our country."

U.S.-PRC RELATIONS IN WAKE OF SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE

U.S. 'Two Chinas' Game

LD021648 Moscow TASS in English 1628 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] Washington, 2 Mar, TASS -- The Reagan administration, which stakes on deterioration of international relations and the policy of anti-Sovietism, actively uses the "China card" with these aims. This is once again borne out by the statement issued by the U.S. State Department on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Shanghai Communique, which opened the way to restoring official relations between the USA and China. The statement points out that Washington's and Beijing's "strategic compatibility" remains a real fact of the international situation, and the differences between the two countries whatever they may be.

The State Department also issued the text of the letters, which were exchanged by President Reagan and Premier of the PRC State Council Zhao Ziyang. It follows from the letters that Washington and Beijing will continue efforts directed at strengthening their military-political relations. Commenting on the answer of the Chinese premier, the New York TIMES writes that his letter is noteworthy for its cordiality. U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig is known to have declared in public that the Chinese side highly appreciates the measures by the White House directed at strengthening the military might of the United States.

Under the new provisions of the American legislation, which have already come into force, the USA is supposed not only to supply the Chinese Army with weapons and military equipment, but also grant China information of a military-industrial character, give it military assistance. Washington has, as a matter of fact, put Beijing on a par with its Western allies in the military blocs as regards the supplies of American weapons and military equipment.

The Beijing leadership has actually accepted the situation of "two Chinas", which is insulting to the prestige and sovereignty of a great power. In exchange for this stand of the Chinese, Washington promises to sell even more sophisticated military equipment to Beijing.

Taiwan Question

LD022216 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1449 GMT 2 Mar 82

["A Pretense of Indignation" -- TASS headline; by TASS observer Vasiliy Kharkov]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Mar (TASS) -- The foreign press has directed attention to the fact that in the messages exchanged between Beijing and Washington on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the so-called Shanghai Communique, which laid the foundation for American-Chinese rapprochement, there was no mention at all of the Taiwan problems. More precisely, the sides preferred to leave completely untouched a problem which remains one of the main irritants in Chinese-American relations. So the commentary transmitted on Monday by XINHUA, which in its tone and content contrasts with the polite official letters, was greeted by foreign political observers with even greater surprise.

This commentary stated in part that the decision by the Washington administration to continue military deliveries to Taiwan had brought Chinese-American relations to a "critical point", and China had been "driven into a corner without any choice." As we can see, XINHUA used rather strong expressions in its commentary which, however, are more for show than for real. Naturally the American pledge to support Taiwan in the military sphere signifies a course -- "one China, one Taiwan" -- clearly unacceptable to Beijing. But for the sake of mutual strategic interests which have been frequently stated by both Chinese and American leaders, Beijing, as can be seen, is ready to swallow this bitter American pill. The pretence of indignation from Beijing at the continuing close links between Washington and Taiwan can mislead no one. After all, in essence, the whole 10-year process of American-Chinese rapprochement has been founded on Beijing's constant concessions over the Taiwan problem.

Consequently the official protests of the Chinese authorities have not had a significant influence on American policy with regard to Taiwan. American military supplies to Taiwan are continuing at a sufficiently high level -- approximately $700-800 million per annum. Taiwan remains closely linked with the United States not only in a military, but also in a trade and economic respect. The volume of trade between the United States and Taiwan is more than double that of American-Chinese trade. American capital investments in Taiwan are continuing to grow and are approaching $3 billion.

Thus relations between Beijing and Washington on the question of Taiwan are clearly unequal to the disadvantage of China. Beijing is trying to hide this indisputable fact by occasionally resorting to a visible skirmish with Washington, but the Chinese leaders are ready to sacrifice their national interests for the sake of the strategic partnership with the United States.

RPP Observer

OW030125 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to China 1430 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] The Shanghai Communique issued by China and the United States marked the beginning of the process of normalizing relations between the two countries. Recently, on the 10th anniversary of the issuance of the Shanghai Communique, the XINHUA news agency published a commentary. This station's observer Glebov writes in this connection:

In the 10 years since the issuance of the Shanghai Communique, the development of U.S.-Chinese relations has been accompanied by the Beijing leaders' repeated statements on their determination to bring about Taiwan's return to the embrace of the motherland. They have uttered a great many very strong words, such as the fact that they defend China's sovereignty, territorial integrity and national dignity, and so on and so forth.

What is the siutation we see today? The Taiwan issue is still as far from being resolved as it was 10 years ago. The statement that China's inherent territory, Taiwan, is to a greater degree controlled by the United States and is an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" in the Far East for the United States has become an even more accurate description of the facts. The United States and Taiwan still maintain formal diplomatic relations. In fact, trade, economic, military and scientific ties between the two sides have been further strengthened, and they have developed faster than relations between the United States and China. Therefore, there is ample ground to say that the Beijing leaders' determination to resolve the Taiwan issue is no more than empty talk.

The statement dished out by the XINHUA news agency on the 10th anniversary of the Shanghai Communique is an example. On the one hand, it says that if the United States continues to sell arms to Taiwan, Sino-U.S. relations will deteriorate. On the other hand, it hopes that Sino-U.S. relations will have a bright future because the relations between the two countries are based on identical global aims and parallel interests.

This means that Taiwan's return to the embrace of the motherland, declared recently by Beijing's leaders as the country's number one issue, has fallen to a less important position and become an isolated matter. To them, Taiwan's future is unimportant. It is important to maintain cooperation and seek common strategic advantages with imperialism and to oppose peaceful, progressive and socialist forces. An issue concerning China's sovereignty has become Washington's commodity to make deals with. Of course, the U.S. administration sees that Deng Xiaoping and company know what is the most important. So the White House has persistently and brazenly pushed its own line, trampling on the national interest of the Chinese people and ignoring its junior partner's protests.

SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE TIES WITH PRC REVIEWED

OW022317 Moscow in Mandarin to China 0700 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Yurkov: "Future of Normalization Hinges on China" -- twelfth and last of series entitled "Two Different Attitudes Towards Soviet-Chinese Relations"]

[Text] In 1981 and early this year the USSR put forward certain proposals meant to improve Soviet-Chinese relations. Some of these proposals were discussed in this program yesterday. We will discuss the remainder today.

On 16 December 1981 our country's Foreign Ministry presented a statement to the PRC Embassy proposing the resumption of the two countries' contacts in scientific and technical cooperation and, on an equal basis, the exchange of one or two groups of experts to understand one another's scientific and technological achievements in certain fields, such as the technology of manufacturing porcelain ware, the raw materials for and production of chemical fertilizer, and the production of agricultural chemicals. The statement also said that if China wanted to exchange experiences in other spheres the USSR would be willing to consider such proposals. However, the USSR has yet to receive any answer to the Soviet proposals.

On 9 February this year the Soviet Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education expressed its willingness to exchange college teachers and students with China, saying that each side might send 10 people to study language for a period of 10 months in each other's country. Last year four groups of Soviet college teachers visited China to attend various international seminars on new technologies, and 17 Chinese missions attended scientific meetings in our country. Although the USSR highly favors the visit to China by Soviet scholars and activists of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, they can only visit China as temporary staff workers and guests of the Soviet Embassy to China.

The situation in China is this: As experiences in international exchanges increase, an advanced concept is gaining ground among some people in China. This concept is: Acting as a minor partner of the imperialists not only goes against China's interests, but also is harmful to China's resources. They hold that if a (?country) wants to be respected in the world it should uphold a corresponding policy. Consequently the shortsighted policy which causes China to lose its allies and friends and cling to the imperialist camp has been increasingly unpopular among the working people, intellectuals and political activists who maintain that only when the Maoist control and mental yoke are removed can they think and voice their opinions.

According to last December's Beijing analysis of the Chinese situation, even some people among the high-ranking Chinese leaders maintained that tense Sino-Soviet relations should be eased. They held that it would give China greater leeway on the international stage. People in China are increasingly aware that even the developed capitalist countries have to carry out trade, economic and scientific and technological exchanges, as well as cultural relations with the USSR. Under such circumstances the Chinese authorities adopted certain measures, such as purchasing a large quantity of Soviet books and stepping up the study of the USSR's literary, scientific and technological accomplishments and economic experience.

Moreover, after greatly curtailing their trade with the USSR, the Chinese authorities last year proposed to increase trade volume with the USSR and requested permission to use the Soviet railways to expand China's relation with Europe. Last February a group of Chinese economists came to the USSR for a 3-month stay to familiarize themselves with our economic situation. It is still too early to conclude now whether these steps signify a new budding of Soviet-Chinese relations.

Regreattably [words indistinct] after our country put forward the above-mentioned proposals, the Chinese authorities made certain statements which have enabled the U.S. imperialists to take new anti-Soviet actions. The Chinese authorities have convinced the imperialists that their hostile policy toward the USSR will remain unchanged. They said such things as China's destiny and interests are interwoven with those of the imperialist countries, and said that they must follow an identical line. [as heard] This was said by RENMIN RIBAO on 6 February.

Nevertheless, as pointed out by Comrade Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, our past and present viewpoint has always been: All problems in Soviet-Chinese relations can be resolved on the basis of equality and in the spirit of mutual understanding. We do not intend to break away from the concrete steps for improving our two countries' relations. But such a process should not be unilateral.

BREZHNEV REPLY TO JAPANESE WRITERS APPRECIATED

LD021212 Moscow TASS in English 1105 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] Tokyo, 2 Mar, TASS -- TASS correspondent Sergey Logachev reports:

"We are very grateful to Leonid Brezhnev for his prompt reply to our message," Narihiko Ito, professor at "Tyuo" university, told the TASS correspondent. He was one of the signatories to the Japanese writers' call against nuclear war. "Having acquainted ourselves with the Soviet leader's reply, we realised that the Soviet Union is seriously worried over the aggravation of international tension, which is fraught with a threat to peace, and actively strives for averting this threat at any cost, and for preventing the unleashing of nuclear war," he emphasized.

Leaders in some Western countries issue slanderous statements to the effect that the anti-war movement acquiring an ever bigger scope throughout the world, is allegedly prompted by the Soviet Union, Narihiko Ito went on to say. I can say in this context that the Japanese writers are coming out against nuclear war on their own initiative without any outside prompting.

We express the hope, Narihiko Ito emphasized, that the leaders of other countries possessing nuclear weapons will follow the example of Leonid Brezhnev and respond to our call, will clearly define their opinion, their attitude to the destinies of world peace.

"The consistent position of the USSR on this question is well known in Japan. Your country is constantly taking the initiative for further pursuit of the policy of detente and strengthening of peace," the Japanese scientist said. "Of greatest value has been the proposal, advanced at the 26th CPSU Congress, to set up an authoritative international committee with participation of distinguished scientists from various countries to make the broad mass of the people of the world aware of the truth how fatal the consequences of nuclear war would be for mankind, would show the vital necessity of preventing a nuclear catastrophe," he said.

"I should like to emphasize also the concrete and realistic nature of the Soviet proposal for a special agreement with any non-nuclear state, including Japan, on the question of the non-use of nuclear weapons against them. We will persistently press for the Japanese Government expressing its attitude to this major initiative," Narihiko Ito said.

JAPANESE SOCIALIST HAILS BREZHNEV PROPOSALS

PM261439 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 82 p 4

[TASS report: "Constructive Approach: Japanese Politician on Concrete Nature of Soviet Initiatives"]

[Text] Tokyo, 24 Feb -- The proposals advanced by L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on ways to reduce nuclear weapons targeted on Europe attest to the Soviet Union's constructive approach to limiting the arms race and to disarmament, S. Taguchi, member of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Central Executive Committee of the Democratic Socialist Party of Japan, has stated. She was one of the representatives of the Socialist International Consultative Council of Disarmament received by L.I. Brezhnev on 3 February this year.

L.I. Brezhnev's proposals on limiting nuclear arms have elicited a broad response in Japan and other countries of the world. I have met with representatives of various parties in European states, S. Taguchi pointed out in an interview with a TASS correspondent, and they all evaluate highly the concrete nature of the Soviet initiatives.

The Soviet Union displays an earnest and active desire to resolve the problem of removing the threat of nuclear war. The very fact that L.I. Brezhnev received representatives of the Socialist International Consultative Council on Disarmament attests to the great significance which the Soviet Union attaches to questions of disarmament, the Japanese politician pointed out.

We were deeply impressed by the energy with which the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman expounded the Soviet Union's stand on questions of strengthening international detente and by his statement of the USSR's readiness to continue making efforts in the interests of peace, S. Taguchi pointed out. She expressed a high opinion of L.I. Brezhnev's personal efforts aimed at curbing the arms race and strengthening peace throughout the world.

The removal of the threat of nuclear war in now the most important task. Persistent efforts by different forces and political parties are needed to resolve it. In this connection the CPSU's consistent policy of dialogue and cooperation with the Socialist International in the struggle to preserve the relaxation of international tension and for disarmament merits very positive appraisal. Unfortuntely, this cannot be said of the American administration. When representatives of the Socialist International Consultative Council on Disarmament visited Washington last November, in practice not one influential figure in President Reagan's administration met them, S. Taguchi pointed out.

Disarmament must also be implemented in Asia, the member of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Japanese Democratic Socialist Party's Central Executive Committee went on to declare. When discussing important problems of curbing the arms race, attention should be paid not only to Europe but also to other parts of the world, including the Asia and Pacific region.

JAPAN'S ARMED FORCES 'MODERNIZATION' VIEWED

LD251052 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2220 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Text] Moscow, 25 Feb, TASS -- Another step was made the other day on the path of the militarization of Japan -- the National Defence Agency drew up a program for the modernization of the armed forces for 1983-1987. In the coming 5 years, the newspaper SELSKAYA ZHIZN says, the Japanese Army will receive 90 F-15 fighters, 60 P-3C antisubmarine planes and 3-2C early-warning aircraft, and 40 heavy helicopters. The navy will obtain 15 combat ships, including missile carriers and submarines. The plan is to create two new mechanized divisions and to equip the land forces with heavy and self-propelled artillery and antitank helicopters.

The resources to implement these dangerous schemes, which are being carried through on the persistent call of the Pentagon, are sought through reductions in allocations for social needs. According to preliminary estimates, the newspaper notes, the National Defence Agency's program will cost the taxpayers 24 trillion yen. Thus, the generals are forcing the Japanese people to pay for the realization of militarist plans which are prejudicing both the interests of the country itself and the cause of peace and stability in the Far East.

SOVIET WORKERS PRAISE TIES WITH DPRK COLLEAGUES

SK250558 Moscow in Korean to Korea 1130 GMT 24 Feb 82

[Unidentified correspondent's report on visit to Vladimir Ilyich electric plant in Moscow -- date not given]

[Excerpt] While talking with the workers of the Vladimir Ilyich electric plant in Moscow, I happened to hear their praise of DPRK workers. The Moscow electric plant has maintained its collective membership in the Soviet-Korean Friendship Society for 20 years. In particular, the workers of the electric plant have a close relationship with workers at the Taean heavy machine plant. They have exchanged letters and working experiences.

Colleague (Yeshikov), and assembly worker at the plant, greets the workers of the Taean heavy machinery plant: Dear friends, congratulating you colleagues, I wish you new success in labor and happiness in life. Together with all Soviet people, we, the Moscow workers, sincerely rejoice over the successes the fraternal Korean people have attained in socialist construction. We know that the Taean heavy machine plant is among the advanced enterprises in the DPRK and has successfully implemented the tasks of producing electrical appliances needed for the people's economy. We believe you will take the lead in the development of scientific technology.

BAYBAKOV VISITS, HOLDS TALKS IN VIETNAM, LAOS

Talks With SRV Leaders

PM030821 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 82 p 4

[Text] Hanoi, 27 Feb, TASS -- N.K. Baybakov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosplan, has ended an official friendly visit to Vietnam.

During his stay in the SRV he was received by Le Duan, general secretary of the Vietnam Communist Party [VCP] Central Committee. Talks were held with Pham Van Dong, member of the Politburo of the VCP Central Committee and chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, and Nguyen Lam, secretary of the VCP Central Committee, vice chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers and chairman of the SRV State Planning Commission. During these talks, which took place in a warm, cordial atmosphere of complete understanding, topical problems of Vietnam's social and economic development in the current 5-year plan (1981-1985) and for the period through 1990 were discussed. Particular attention was paid to questions relating to the formulation of food and fuel and energy programs.

V.N. Chaplin, the Soviet ambassador to the SRV, took part in the talks.

N.K. Baybakov made a tour of the country. In Ho Chi Minh City he was received by Nguyen Van Linn, member of the Politburo of the VCP Central Committee and secretary of the party's city committee, and he visited a number of the city's industrial enterprises. He visited the joint Vietnamese-Soviet oil and gas prospecting and recovery enterprise in Vung Tau, the Dong Nai rubber association, Lam Dong Province and the port city of Haiphong.

Visit to Vientiane

LD021926 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Stanislav Blazenkov report from Vientiane]

[Text] A Soviet delegation led by Baybakov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosplan, has arrived in the Lao capital. Soviet-Lao talks have begun. Questions were discussed pertaining to further raising the efficiency of economic and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] to speeding up the construction of a number of projects of great importance to the republic's economy and to increasing Lao's export potential.

Comrade Baybakov and the other members of the delegation were received by Keysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and prime minister of the LPDR. The head of the Soviet delegation conveyed to Comrade Keysone the warmest of greetings from Comrade Brezhnev and wishes to the Lao people for new successes in building socialism.

Keysone Phomvihan told the delegation of the preparations for the third LPRP congress. He noted the effectiveness of the Soviet Union's aid and stressed the significance of the Soviet delegation's visit to Laos for the development of relations of fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the two countries.

Hanoi, Vientiane Reportage

For Hanoi reportage on GASPLAN Chairman Nikolay K. Baybakov's 10-day visit to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, including his meeting with Le Duan, general secretary of the Vietnam Communist Party Central Committee, on 27 February and his departure on 28 February, see the Vietnam section of the 1 March Asia & Pacific DAILY REPORT.

For Vientiane reportage on State Planning Committee Chairman Nikolay Baybakov's visit to the Lao People's Democratic Republic, including his 28 February arrival, 1 March meeting with Kaysone Phomvihan, prime minister of the LPDR and general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, and the first round of talks held on 1 March, see the Laos sections of the 2-3 March Asia & Pacific DAILY REPORT.

MATERIALS ON VISIT BY POLAND'S JARUZELSKI

Talks With Tikhonov

LD021434 Moscow TASS in English 1424 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] Moscow, 2 Mar, TASS -- A meeting was held in the Kremlin today between member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Tikhonov and First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, Chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Nikolay Tikhonov and Wojciech Jaruzelski discussed a number of topical issues of Soviet-Polish cooperation, pointed out its growing significance for normalising economic life in the Polish People's Republic, ensuring normal operation of Polish industry enterprises under the conditions of a further stabilisation of the political situation.

Conviction was expressed that to attain that aim socialist Poland has the necessary long-term prerequisites -- a developed economic potential, skilled personnel, fraternal solidarity and support from the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

The talk proceeded in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

Tour Prior to Departure

LD021846 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Excerpts] The party and state delegation of the Polish People's Republic which was in the Soviet Union on an official visit headed by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, left Moscow for home today.

Prior to their departure for home the delegation members went to the Moskovskaya Oblast state farm combine named after the 50th anniversary of the USSR. They visited a dairy farm and familiarized themselves with the life of rural workers. At the (Nariy) farm the guests inspected the Druzhba house-building cooperative and visited a worker's apartment.

The delegation member were accompanied by Moskovskiy Obkom First Secretary Konotop.

The Polish comrades also visited one of the sectors of the Moscow subway's construction sites.

Departure Ceremony

LD021702 Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] Moscow, 2 Mar TASS -- A party and state delegation of the Polish People's Republic headed by First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic Wojciech Jaruzelski that was staying in the Soviet Union on an official visit left Moscow for home today.

At the Vnukovo Airport, at the gangway of the plane, Wojciech Jaruzelski and the members of the delegation were warmly seen off by Leonid Brezhnev, Nikolay Tikhonov, Yuriy Andropov, Andrey Gromyko, Dmitriy Ustinov, Konstantin Chernenko, Konstantin Rusakov.

In honour of the delegation, the airport was decorated with state flags of the Polish People's Republic and the USSR, a guard of honour of representatives of the three services of the USSR Armed Forces -- land forces, air force and navy -- was lined up. An orchestra played the national anthems of the two countries.

Leonid Brezhnev and Wojciech Jaruzelski inspected the guard of honour. The ceremony of the send-off was concluded by the march pass of the guard of honour.

Airborne Thanks to Brezhnev

LD021724 Moscow TASS in English 1717 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] Moscow, 2 Mar, TASS -- A telegram from Wojciech Jaruzelski addressed to Leonid Brezhnev has come from board plane. The telegram expresses on behalf of the Polish party and government delegation cordial gratitude for the hospitality and well-wishing. Wojciech Jaruzelski writes: "I am profoundly convinced that the visit will contribute to a further strengthening and deepening of fraternal relations between our parties and peoples."

Joint Communique

LD021839 Moscow TASS in English 1823 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] Moscow, 2 Mar, TASS -- Follows the full text of the Soviet-Polish communique:

"The party and state delegation of the Polish People's Republic led by First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers Wojciech Jaruzelski was on an official friendly visit in the Soviet Union on March 1-2, 1982.

The Polish party and state delegation laid wreaths to the Lenin Mausoleum and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

Talks were held between the Soviet delegation led by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Leonid Brezhnev and the Polish party and state delegation on a broad range of issues of Soviet-Polish cooperation, topical problems of the present-day international situation.

The composition of the delegations was as follows:

The Soviet delegation -- member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Tikhonov; member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the USSR State Security Committee Yuriy Andropov; member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko; member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Defence Minister Dmitriy Ustinov; member of the Politbureau, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Konstantin Chernenko; secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Konstantin Rusakov; member of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Ambassador to Poland Boris Aristov;

The Polish delegation -- Chairman of the Chief Committee of the United Peasant Party, Vice-Chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers Roman Malinowski; Chairman of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party, Vice-Chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers Edward Kowalczyk; member of the Politbureau, Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) Central Committee, Polish Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek; member of the Politbureau of the PUWP Central Committee, First Secretary of the Katowice PUWP Voivodship Committee Zbigniew Messner, alternate member of the Politbureau of the PUWP Central Committee, First Deputy Minister of National Defence, Chief of General Staff of the Polish Army Florian Siwicki; alternate member of the Politbureau of the PUWP Central Committee, Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee Marian Wozniak; Vice-Chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, Chairman of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers Janusz Obodowski; and Polish Ambassador to the USSR Kazimierz Olszewski.

A detailed exchange of views on the state and prospects of relations between the two countries held an important place at the talks. The participants in the talks expressed their mutual determination to do their utmost for strengthening and further developing fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the CPSU and the PUWP, the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic, between the Soviet and Polish peoples on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism, equality and respect for sovereignty, comradely mutual assistance.

The sides have reaffirmed the significance of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Polish People's Republic as an unshakable foundation of Soviet-Polish relations.

Soviet-Polish friendship is deeply rooted in the revolutionary traditions of the Russian and Polish proletariat. It was sealed by the blood jointly spilled in the struggle against Nazism during the years of the Second World War and has been enriched with a new content in the course of close cooperation between the two fraternal socialist states in all spheres of life.

Allied relations between the USSR and the Polish People's Republic are an important factor of peace and stability, of the inviolability of frontiers and post-war arrangement in Europe.

The Soviet Union and Poland will continue contributing to the strengthening of the fraternal alliance of states, participants in the Warsaw Treaty, which ensures their security and interaction in the struggle for the consolidation of peace in Europe and all over the world. They will be promoting in every way further widening and deepening of cooperation in the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in the interests of the most effective use of all the possibilities of the international division of labour, cooperation and specialisation of production in purposes of the steady development of the socialist economy, of meeting ever fuller the needs of the working people.

The delegations of the USSR and the Polish People's Republic informed each other of the situation in their countries and parties.

Leonid Brezhnev spoke about the work to implement the decision of the 26th CPSU Congress, the November (1981) plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, about the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for the 11th Five-Year-Plan period adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, about major tasks that are being tackled by the Communists, the working people of the country to implement the plan. The Soviet people closely rallied around the CPSU is forging ahead to celebrate the remarkable historic anniversary -- the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

All-union congresses of the trade unions and the Leninist Komsomol will be important milestones in the social and political life of the Soviet people this year. The CPSU highly values the role and significance of the trade unions in building communism, organizing socialist emulation, strengthening labour discipline, the participation in the management of production, care for the working and living conditions and conditions of rest of the working people.

The party attaches great importance to the ideological, political and labour education of the young generation as people who are politically conscious and active, who are well-trained for their work and who live to work, who are always ready to protect their motherland.

Wojciech Jaruzelski described the situation in Poland, spoke about the efforts taken for further normalization of the situation in the country.

The Polish side emphasised that the socialist system has ensured sovereignty of the Polish state, inviolability of its frontiers, the creation of contemporary economic potential, of the conditions for the development of national culture. Poland achieved prestige in the international arena. The actions of the adversaries of socialism who took advantage of the mistakes of the former leadership, of the violation of objective laws of socialist construction have jeopardized all these gains of the Polish people.

Relying on the support of the imperialist circles, the counterrevolutionary forces tried to overthrow the political, social and economic system chosen by the Polish people, to push Poland into the abyss of chaos and anarchy.

The introduction of martial law prevented an anti-socialist coup, saved the Polish state from a fratricidal conflict. This measure taken in the name of the supreme interests of the Polish people and state, being fully in accord with the country's Constitution, has been approved by the highest body of state authority -- the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. The economic, political and social life that has been seriously disturbed as a result of the actions of the enemies of socialism is now gradually normalizing in Poland.

It was stressed by the Polish side that any attempts to resume actions aimed at causing economic dissaray, at resumption of anarchy, disturbances, at changing the social and political system will be cut short most resolutely in future, too.

Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke about the results of the seventh plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the PUWP, about its significance for the strengthening of the party's unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, restoration and heightening of its steering role in the Polish society. The PUWP will continue the line of the ninth congress, will be taking consistent steps to strengthen the ties of the party with the working class, with the working people, to develop socialist democracy.

The Polish United Workers' Party and the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party closely cooperating with it declare for the consolidation of all patriotic forces holding the socialist positions. They see in this the indespensable prerequisite of taking the country out of the crisis.

The PUWP and allied parties believe in the creative, constructive forces of the Polish people. Having put an end to mistakes of the past and firmly rebuffing subversive anti-state actions, they are determined to build a strong and flourishing Polish state, a society of labour and justice, a society confident of tomorrow. They proceed from the following premises:

Poland was, is and will be a socialist state whose economic and political system is based on social property of the means of production, the power of the working class, of the working people, the steering role of the PUWP as a Marxist-Leninist party;

Friendship and alliance with the USSR are the cornerstone of the foreign policy of the Polish People's Republic, the condition for ensuring the country's independence and security of its borders;

The Polish People's Republic will remain a firm link of the socialist community, a member in the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The Soviet side declared that the decisive actions of the Martial Council of National Redemption were received with full understanding by the Soviet people and always take to heart the affairs and concerns of the fraternal Polish people, wish it successes in overcoming the crisis, in removing the difficulties.

The Soviet Union gave and will continue to give support to socialist Poland, its friend and ally.

The USSR and the Polish People's Republic strongly condemn and reject the interference of the United States and other capitalist countries in Poland's internal affairs.

This interference is a gross violation of the generally recognised norms of international law, of the United Nations Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, the existing treaties and agreements. The sides view the discriminatory measures with regard to the Polish People's Republic and the Soviet Union proclaimed by the United States and some of its allies as outright blackmail and pressure, as an attempt to shaken the peaceful structure of interstate relations, as a threat to peace and security in Europe.

It was emphasised that all calculations at undermining the mainstays of socialism in Poland, including such calculation abroad, will inevitably fail. The Polish side expressed deep gratitude for the political and economic assistance given by the Soviet Union to the Polish People's Republic at this time of trial.

It made special note of the vital significance for the national economy of Poland of stable Soviet deliveries of fuel, raw materials, units and articles within the framework of industrial cooperation, and other goods, especially in conditions when, as a result of the activities of anti-socialist forces, a serious damage was caused to the Polish economy and export possibilities of Poland were undermined, including as regards its commitments to the USSR.

The Soviet Union will continue to render support and assistance to Poland. Poland for its part will make efforts to ensure balanced Soviet-Polish trade.

During the talks the sides discussed the prospects of Soviet-Polish economic ties. The Soviet Union and Poland have a high industrial and scientific-technical potential, rich natural resources and qualified personnel.

In the process of socialist construction, good prerequisites have been created for the development of mutually beneficial cooperation in a number of industries, and corresponding agreements have been concluded. A stable political situation in Poland will promote a better utilisation of all this in the interests of solving the vital national economic problems of the two countries.

The sides noted with satisfaction a principled position of the Executive Committee of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance set out in its statement of January 22, 1982, which resolutely condemns the interference of the U.S. administration and other NATO countries in the internal affairs of Poland, expresses readiness to render all-round assistance to the fraternal Polish people in overcoming economic difficulties.

The exchange of opinions on the state and development of the present-day international situation has revealed the community of views and positions of the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic.

Through the fault of aggressive forces of imperialism, the situation in the world has seriously deteriorated. The ruling circles of the United States are intensifying the arms race on an increasing scale. U.S. military programmes and doctrines proceed from the admissibility of a nuclear war. The attainment of military superiority is proclaimed to be the goal of U.S. policy. The United States is unceremonously interfering in the affairs of other states, using methods of pressure and diktat, trying to suppress the legitimate striving of peoples for freedom and social progress. The growth of militarism and hegemonistic aspirations, increasing aggressiveness, manifestations of adventurism in the policy of the United States jeopardize universal peace.

The Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic are against confrontation, build-up of tensions and the arms race. They firmly declare for eliminating the threat of war, consolidating peace, limiting armaments and for disarmament, for a radical improvement of the international situation. The interests of peace urgently necessitate a constructive dialogue, fair talks, strict observance of the generally recognized principles of relations between states, building up confidence and mutual understanding, developing equitable cooperation.

The party and state delegation of the Polish People's Republic declared that Poland fully supports the peace programme for the eighties, which was adopted by the 26th Congress of the CPSU, the Soviet Union's specific initiatives put forward in its development and aimed at lessening the threat of war, preserving detente and strengthening peace.

Confidence was expressed from the Soviet side that by pursuing a vigorous foreign policy, socialist Poland will further make a considerable contribution to joint effort by the fraternal countries in the international arena.

Special attention in the course of the talks was devoted to the situation in Europe. The sides are unanimous that the international treaties and agreements, which sealed the results of the Second World War and determined the aspect of present-day Europe, make the unshakable foundation of security, stability and peace in Europe. It is given to no one to shatter that foundation.

The European peoples, which experienced sufferings and privations of war in full measure, prize peace as the greatest boon and cannot allow Europe to be put again on the verge of a military upheaval after decades of peaceful development.

Europe's present and future is not in a further build-up of missile-nuclear weapons, not in sharpening confrontation, not in a broadening of military groupings and fomenting hatred and hostility, to which the leading circles of the NATO bloc, above all of the USA, are pushing it.

The vital needs of the European countries are best served by another way -- that of lowering the level of military confrontation, especially in the nuclear field, stepping up the struggle for delivering Europe fully, in the long run, from nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons.

The Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic reaffirm their adherence to the principles and provisions of the Final Act of the All-European Conference, stress the importance of strict observance of the Helsinki accords by all the participant states, call for consistently continuing on their basis the process of strengthening security and developing cooperation in Europe.

The sides described the sordid attempts at using the Madrid meeting for interference in Poland's home affairs, which may result only in underming the all-European process, as those incompatible with the Helsinki Final Act. They, as before, maintain that it is in the best interests of all states -- participants in the Conference on European Security and Cooperation -- to complete the Madrid meeting with positive results, whose core must be a decision to convene a conference on confidence-building measures, security and disarmament in Europe.

In the course of the talks the sides pointed out the danger of the situation emerging as a result of NATO's decision to deploy new American medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. They forcefully stressed the urgency of curbing the arms race, of a resolute changeover from the build-up of the means of warfare to their limitation and reduction, to the resolution of the problem of real disarmament.

At the same time they pointed to the fundamental significance of the principle of equality and equal security. The calculations to upset the present balance, to ensure military superiority, to infringe upon the security interests of the socialist states are dangerous and futile.

The Soviet side informed the Polish party and state delegation on the state of affairs at the Soviet-American talks on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe. The Polish side declared full support for the Soviet Union's stand at those talks, whose success would also be in the vital interests of the Polish People's Republic.

The USSR and Poland attach paramount significance to the speediest resumption of talks on the limitation of strategic weapons. All peoples of the world have a vital stake in the resolution of that central problem of curbing the arms race, of preventing the threat of a missile-nuclear war.

A source of well-founded concern for them is the stand of the USA, which protracts the resumption of these talks under various false pretexts. The Polish People's Republic welcomes the Soviet Union's readiness to start such talks immediately.

The sides condemn the decision of the U.S. administration on unfolding large-scale production of new types of chemical weapons. This monstrous mass destruction weapon, in common with the neutron bomb which has been adopted among the arms in the USA, is intended for use outside the United States itself, above all on the European soil. Such plans cannot but give rise to general indignation and protests, especially in the light of the fact that the USA evades, as before, concluding an international convention that would ban chemical weapons.

The importance was stressed of the draft agreement on mutual force and arms cuts and the measures in that connection in Central Europe at the first stage, which was tabled at the Vienna talks by the Polish People's Republic on behalf of the socialist countries.

That draft contains all the necessary elements of an agreement on the first stage of reduction. It is now for the Western participants in the talks to give a constructive answer.

The Soviet Union and Poland declare for intensifying the work of all international forums at which talks are held or must be held on questions of limitation of arms and disarmament, including the Geneva Disarmament Committee.

The two sides have reaffirmed the intention of their states to participate actively and constructively in the work of the forthcoming Second Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Disarmament, with a view to pressing for the adoption at it of such decisions which would promote an end to the arms race, and disarmament.

During the talks the sides exchanged views on the situation in various regions of the world from the point of view of the principled line of the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic aimed at easing international tension, settling and preventing conflicts, ensuring the inalienable right of peoples to free and independent development, respecting sovereignty and independence of states and developing international cooperation.

The Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic expressed unshakable determination to continue acting in a coordinated and united manner in the international arena in the name of peace and progress.

Both sides expressed the conviction that the official visit of the party and state delegation of Poland and the talks which passed in a business-like, comradely atmosphere will become a new major contribution to the cause of strengthening friendship and cooperation between the two fraternal countries and peoples.

The first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland Wojciech Jaruzelski, invited the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Brezhnev, to pay an official friendly visit to the Polish People's Republic. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

JOURNAL ATTACKS U.S. POLICY TOWARD POLAND

LD021222 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1045 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] Moscow, 2 Mar (TASS) -- "Through its provocative actions, Washington is openly showing the world that its great political game with regard to Poland has aims which have no relation to the well-being of the Polish people or the cause of European and world peace. This hypocritical, dangerous game has not the slightest chance of success," writes the March number of the Soviet journal MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN.

The article comments that "expatiating on the necessity of respect for human rights, and hypocritically calling now for 'national reconciliation' in Poland, Washington is trying to hinder the improvement of the situation in the country, and is doing everything possible to have the situation there develop in the opposite direction. The U.S. administration has not renounced the provision of every possible encouragement, which is given in various forms and ways from subversive activities by the special services and provocative radio broadcasts to official White House statements. It continues to encourage the antisocialist forces in Poland to violate law and order and to topple the social system in the Polish People's Republic and thus aggravates the burdens which the unbridled activity of these forces has brought the Poles."

The paper points out that the political pressure on Poland -- which has substantially increased -- and economic sanctions against it "show unambiguously that the U.S. leadership has taken the path of expanding and making more active its interference in the internal affairs of that country -- with which, incidentally, the United States has diplomatic relations, a situation calling for the proper restraint and for observance of the norms of the already-formed intercourse between states."

"The Soviet leadership and the Soviet people have closely followed and are following the development of events in and around Poland," the article stresses. "The Soviet Union is not indifferent to the fate of this neighboring country. Hundreds of thousands of Soviet people gave their lives during the liberation of Poland from fascist slavery; this cannot be erased from the memories of either the Soviet or the Polish people."

Any calculations that one can impose one's will on the USSR and the Polish People's Republic by using threats and various forms of discriminatory measures are doomed to inevitable failure, the magazine notes. This also applies in full to the attacks in connection with Polish events made by NATO, primarily U.S. spokesmen, at the Madrid meeting.

Foisting a discussion in Madrid about events in Poland, the article says, the NATO representatives "have forgotten or are trying to forget that the situation in this country, just as in any other sovereign state, is not subject to discussion at any international forum, which fully applies to the Madrid meeting. To act in any other way would mean turning this meeting into an arena of confrontation, blocking its work, undermining the possibility of concluding the meeting with substantial positive, results, and to question what has been achieved in Madrid."

The journal stresses that "Washington is trying to take advantage of the 'Polish question' in order to artificially create an international crisis, to fan up an interbloc confrontation, primarily to put pressure upon socialism, and to shake the positions of the USSR and other socialist countries on the European and world arena."

"Dramatizing the situation concerning Poland and aggravating tension, Washington is striving to poison the general political climate even more, to worsen the atmosphere for dialogue between East and West, and, under this pretext, to implement its plans for stepping up the arms race so as to upset the world strategic balance, to achieve military superiority, and to bury detente," notes the paper.

POLISH VETERANS GREET SOVIET ARMED FORCES

PM021339 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Feb 82 p 3

[TASS report: "Loyal to Lofty Ideals"]

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Feb -- A ceremonial meeting of the capital's organization of Poles who served in the Soviet Army has been held here. They adopted a letter of congratulations to Soviet war veterans and the servicemen of the USSR Armed Forces. It states:

In the ranks of the invincible, glory-covered Soviet Army we shared with you our military labor and joy in our victories in the common struggle against Hitler's fascism. Your cordial attitude toward us when we are taking our first steps in the army and your desire to pass on to us your military experience, which we used in the struggle against the invaders in the ranks of the Soviet Army and then in the Polish People's Army, will never be erased from our memory. Our brotherhood in arms and our friendship were cemented forever in military labor by the blood jointly shed and by our soldier's duty. We Poles who served in the Soviet Army will remain loyal forever to these lofty ideals.

In the complex situation in which our country has found itself we resolutely support the actions of the PZPR and people's power and of the Military Council of National Salvation in the struggle against the forces of reaction and for the restoration of calm and the socialist order in our fatherland.

We are strengthening our alliances with the fraternal socialist countries, especially the USSR. We reject most resolutely Reagan's threats and discriminatory sanctions aimed against our country and the Soviet Union. We do not fear the threats and actions of the imperialist forces. The historical certainty that alliance and friendship with the great land of the Soviets are of vitally important significance to Poland, has become deeply rooted in our people's consciousness, the veterans stress in concluding their message.

PRAVDA REPORTS JARUZELSKI PZPR PLENUM SPEECH

PM011455 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 82 p 4

[TASS report: "W. Jaruzelski's Report to PZPR Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Feb -- W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, delivered a report of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo entitled "Talks of the PZPR in the Struggle for Party Unity, the Consolidation of the People's Power and Complete Public Approval of Socialism" at the Seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum which opened 24 February.

The Seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum is of a special nature. This is the first time the Central Committee has been convened under martial law conditions.

Now that the international situation is deteriorating we must ascertain precisely what the struggle is about and what role in it is assigned to our country.

The present generation has grown accustomed to the idea that peace remains the supreme value. Recently, unfortunately, the threat to peace has gravely increased. The U.S. administration bears the main responsibility for this. It is in fact shifting from an era of negotiations to a policy of confrontation. Over the past few months the U.S. administration has embarked on the production of neutron weapons, adopted a record military budget and is rapidly introducing new types of armaments.

Imperialism has not renounced the desire to reverse the revolutionary and national liberation processes signposted by the October Revolution. Imperialism is seeking to realize its plans at different periods and in different parts of the world with the aid of differing means.

This policy has led to a considerable deterioration in East-West relations. The Soviet Union, consistently loyal to its peace-loving policy, has given much evidence of its readiness for compromise. In turn Washington, taking no account of the pledges of previous administrations, is abruptly steering a course toward confrontation. Washington has recently been demanding that the Western states associate themselves with the anti-Polish "crusade" and with anti-Soviet hysteria.

Some governments have been able to take their own decisions dictated by realism and far-sightedness. Others are continuing to yield to U.S. pressure, thus showing the whole world the actual limitation of their sovereignty. Even the status of a power does not protect them from Washington's diktat.

In this broad perspective, the actions taken in respect to our country must be assessed as a fragment of a global policy. Poland is viewed as an instrument, as a lever for exerting pressure on the Soviet Union and the socialist community. The Polish people's real interests, their borders, tranquillity and living conditions, and the security of the state are of no significance in this game.

Poland is not a small country. Its manpower resources and industrial potential, its geographical situation and military importance are assessed highly in Europe and throughout the world. However, our country has temporarily become a weak link in the socialist system. It has been assigned the role of detonator under the edifice of peace whose foundation consists of the inseparable agreements signed in Yalta and Potsdam. Poland was to mark the start of the process of the collapse of the socialist community and European history's reversal by a whole era.

We have thwarted this design. Martial law in our country has essentially become an antiwar situation. It has driven back and even to a considerable degree reduced the threat of confrontation today. Poland, in resolving its own problems by its own efforts, can become an immeasurably important and indeed a key factor in preserving peace.

We took the decision to impose martial law sovereignly, W. Jaruzelski continued, with an awareness of our responsibility, guided by the interests of the people and the socialist state. No one dictated this decision to us. I want to say that the Poles have their own language and, above all, their own mind. Bitter experience has taught us that we must fight for the state's existence so as not to lose it. Nor is it enough to have advantageous, just borders. They must be respected and persistently defended by renewing the guarantees of their security. It is thus, in accordance with our sovereign rights and the supreme interests of the Polish state, that we shall continue to act in the future.

The NATO countries' intelligence services defined the situation in our country erroneously last year. They underestimated the Poles' intelligence and the monolithic nature and ideological fiber of our armed forces and the efficiency of the functioning of the socialist state's organs. The decision we made took them unawares. Many states had prepared plans for Poland, and considerable sums were earmarked for them, but these plans collapsed overnight.

The acuteness of the reaction is evidence that these were far-reaching plans. A propaganda and economic war was declared against us. Attempts are still being made to take revenge and to kindle a hotbed of unrest in Poland. The activity of subversive radio stations -- for which the programs in Polish broadcast for a total of 36 hours a day are not enough -- is expanding. They are trying to tell us what we should do to "let Poland be Poland." This is a phony catch phrase. The conductors of this chorus are now pursuing a policy of threats and confrontation which at worst could lead to the point where not only does Poland cease to be Poland but all Europe ceases to be Europe. The Poles are being exhorted to underground actions, which in fact signifies fratricidal combat. It is not for nothing that the heralds of psychological warfare have recently been disseminating a new slogan -- "the winter is yours but the spring is ours."

We have always said clearly and unreservedly: The counterrevolution shall not pass. We have kept our word. The counterrevolution has not passed. Hopes of reversing the course of events in Poland are a dangerous illusion and a terrible mistake. The course of history cannot be reversed. The spring will be neither "ours" nor "yours," it will be simply a Polish and socialist spring. Before it is too late, let the local and foreign organizers of chaos give due thought to that.

Some Western capitals are expressing regret that martial law is continuing in Poland. But these same capitals are doing everything possible to augment our difficulties and to prevent internal stabilization in Poland and, consequently, to ensure that martial law continues for as long as possible.

An in-depth analysis of the entire complex of our foreign relations is necessary.

An erroneous credit, import and license policy revived in many people the myth that prosperity can be built using a "short cut." This cult of licenses was also an expression of the underrating of Polish scientists and engineers, whose talent would be enough for more than one country. We believe that the engineers and scientists will now redouble their efforts to ensure that in many spheres Polish technology can become independent of unjustified imports.

In the light of this experience we must treat with far greater vigor and attention than before Poland's natural markets in the socialist countries. We have not assessed adequately the advantages stemming from the division of labor within the CEMA framework.

Nor have we assessed fully cooperation with the developing countries. Many of these countries have experienced a neocolonialist boycott. Such an approach is alien to these countries when it comes to Poland. We rate highly these states' marked understanding of our difficulties and their respect for the principle of noninterference. We are seeking to develop closer, mutually advantageous relations with these countries.

We have frequently explained the reasons for the creation of the Military Council of National Salvation, W. Jaruzelski continued. This decision is understood by everyone who is well acquainted with the course of events in Poland and knows how to think politically and responsibly. All other ways of surmounting the political and economic crisis failed to produce results. The aggressive statements in Radom and Gdansk definitively broke off the dialogue. The imposition of martial law was our last possible political initiative to avoid the incalculable consequences of confrontation.

Today some people doubt whether it was necessary to impose martial law. Others are asking why it was imposed so late. We are responsible for the destiny of the people and the Polish State. The future would not have forgiven hasty decisions, passiveness or capitulation.

There is one error we surely did not commit -- aggressiveness. No one can accuse the party and government of failing to display good will or patience. We believed and continue to believe in the working class' political instinct and the people's sense of responsibility. We persistently sought agreement. Those are our unique moral credentials. This is also well known by those who are now complaining about martial law but who did nothing to make it possible to avoid it, even when the country was falling apart from one day to the next. The authorities warned that they would not stop at applying constitutional measures to defend the state if it proved necessary. We said this frequently.

Any proposal of ours, any appeal, was viewed as evidence of weakness. Demands were constantly augmented, and the political aggressiveness aimed against our party and the organs of the socialist state and against Poland's alliances mounted. People were trifling with a basic human right -- the right to security and tranquillity and to unhindered work.

The political struggle was shifted to the sphere of the economy, against which the next strikes were delivered. Any measure aimed at surmounting the crisis was torpedoed. Even abroad we were criticized for the disintegration of the economy and for "Polish strikemania."

The destructive actions of the Solidarity extremists were stepped up after the ninth party congress. The more the party went halfway to meet public desires and surmounted its errors, the more fiercely it was attacked. Illegal antistate organizations began to emerge from the underground. Threats of physical reprisal were made against members of the PZPR and party officials. At the same time action to abolish party committees at enterprises was prepared in many parts of the country. The organization of an antipower and an antistate had in fact begun.

Every organized opposition force in Poland sooner or later becomes a center concentrating all reactionary and antipopular currents, including fascist elements, even at a time when, at the start of opposition activity, superficially progressive, pseudorevolutionary slogans are advanced. That is the natural law of the present-day class struggle.

It is also natural that the opponents of socialism will always turn for support to the capitalist world and will receive it. There are always funds there for this purpose.

Let those who still intend to conduct opposition activity and play at conspiracy or resort to acts of terrorism and sabotage know that there will be no leniency shown toward them. Adventurism postpones the return to normalization and poses a threat to the reviving economy. We will be implacable in defending the people's supreme values. We do not utter empty words. It has been possible to be convinced of this, W. Jaruzelski stressed.

Our decisions and actions must be firm, even harsh, but in each specific instance they must be comprehensible to the workers' collectives and to all working people and be morally fair and irreproachable. They must be principled but at the same time profoundly humane, attesting to our faith in man. Whoever does not believe that a person can change is not a good communist.

Martial law does not mean the freezing of reforms. We are confirming this in practice. Only under the conditions of the necessary calm is it possible to introduce the projected reforms and to implement laws comprising the foundation of the development and consolidation of socialist democracy. Martial law is not an end in itself. We regard it as a stage toward gaining equilibrium and surmounting the most difficult threshold of the crisis. At the same time it is an effective instrument in restoring order and security and in combating crime and antisocial phenomena.

Martial law involves difficulties in citizens' daily lives. In accordance with what was stated in the Sejm 25 January, these will be gradually eased. Quite a lot has been done on this path in the past 2 months. But, as we have already stated frequently, the fundamental easing of the martial law regime and, finally, its complete repeal are connected with the ensuring of total calm and the surmounting of the most acute economic difficulties. We want this to come about as soon as possible.

The party, W. Jaruzelski continued, is at the start of a long, hard path. We are mustering our forces and switching to actions.

We are not starting from scratch. We have in our hands an indisputable trump card — the attainments of 37 years of people's Poland. May every citizen decide in accordance with his conscience the value of these attainments. By our tremendous labor we raised from the ruins a country devasted by war. We reunited the western and northern territories with the motherland forever. A major process — the erasing of the distinctions between the social strata — was implemented. The people's power ensured work for millions of first-generation workers and gave land to the peasants. Only under conditions of socialism was Poland able to negotiate so rapidly the correct and most difficult phase of industrialization. Opportunities were opened up for the social and cultural development of the working class and peasantry.

The guiding idea and activity of our party and the labor and selflessness of the working class and all working people and the entire people are firmly linked with these attainments. These are abiding values and cannot be disregarded.

But today we must ask first of all: Has the Workers Party fulfilled the hopes pinned on it? The answer to this question must be an honest one.

Back before August 1980 our party lost the support of part of the working class. Later many party organizations were paralyzed as a result of the enemy's attacks. The party's own weaknesses also fettered it.

Citing examples of negative processes in Poland, W. Jaruzelski stressed that the party must draw the necessary conclusion from this. Here he analyzed the correlation of forces in Poland today.

Socialism is built with the aid of labor and the fair distribution of the fruit of this labor, the speaker emphasized. The principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor" must be viewed at the same time as society's obligation to the individual and the individual's obligation to society. In this sphere much can still be done by both the state and individual citizens. Many questions will be resolved by the economic reform which is being introduced.

However, no systemic, organizational or technological solutions will produce good results without the introduction of discipline and order in all spheres of our life and without citizens' elementary sense of duty. Poland is lagging greatly in this sphere.

Today's plenum must confirm very forcibly the principle that every party member must be a leader in his sphere and must combat any violations of legality and any evil. Above all this must be expressed in participation in the work of various public, professional and creative organizations. In the present situation this statutory obligation must be accorded paramount significance.

Under martial law conditions it was essential temporarily to suspend the activity of many organizations, including trade unions. The future of the trade union movement is arousing great interest among the public. Various opinions and proposals are being discussed. We believe it expedient to create a platform for the broad exchange of views. It is essential to analyze what led to a considerable decline in the role of the trade unions and set the trade unions against the socialist state.

Irrespective of what concept is adopted for the restructuring of the trade union movement, this movement must respect unconditionally the principles of the socialist system and acknowledge the PZPR's leading role.

W. Jaruzelski dwelt further on the question of restoring the activity of other social and creative organizations, stressing the need for party members to work in this milieu, especially where the former leadership had lost its sense of realism and responsibility. He further noted that difficult problems have to be resolved by the younger generation, including the youngest party members.

In this connection the speaker said: We neglected educational work in the party, frequently failing to heed what young people wanted to say.

We must elevate the problem of the party's presence among young people and of young people in the party, of the youth organizations' work methods and their real participation in the execution of power. We expect specific proposals from comrades engaged in youth problems. The next PZPR Central Committee plenum will be devoted to these problems.

The overcoming of the social crisis we are experiencing, W. Jaruzelski continued, also requires that it be surmounted among the intelligentsia. We see much wavering and confusion in this milieu. Not everyone has understood what is being done around them. Many have succumbed uncritically to illusions.

Civic concern for the people's welfare prevails among the intelligentsia. A polarization of positions can be observed. There is evidence of bitter doubts. The Polish intelligentsia has deep roots in the social and professional structures of People's Poland, and it shapes the structures which in their turn mold the intelligentsia.

W. Jaruzelski then noted the role of the National Salvation Committees which are being formed locally and of the participation of the nonparty mass in social activity and the management of the country.

The party, he said, confirms the proposal on national accord. While retaining its leading role, the party is seeking to be the initiator of partnership relations with all social forces which want the people's prosperity and recognize the priority of the interests of the socialist state. Martial law will pass but Poland will remain.

We do not want to speculate on the forms of agreement or its place in Polish public life. We believe that the National Salvation Committees can be a good point of departure. The basis of our political system remains the leading role of the PZPR, which operates in alliance with the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD]. This alliance has been tested at the toughest moments of the history of the people's state and is also being tested today. We attach due importance to this alliance, being concerned for real cooperation and joint responsibility.

In the section of the report concerning the economic situation W. Jaruzelski noted that the profound crisis has gripped all sectors of the national economy.

We must rapidly resolve the problems accumulated throughout the postwar period which we have failed to cope with for many years.

At the ninth congress the party outlined a program for normalizing the economy and extricating it from the crisis. The implementation of this program was initiated immediately but the results were insignificant. Destructive forces delayed the program's fulfillment and aggravated the difficulties. The imposition of martial law put an end to this and introduced elementary order into the economy. Wherever this depends on us ourselves and there are sufficient raw and other materials, we can already observe tangible progress.

For instance, coal extraction and the production of copper concentrate, cement, machine tools and machinery and equipment for agriculture have increased. Interest in animal husbandry has increased.

The effectiveness of the efforts we are making has been considerably influenced by the sanctions imposed against Poland by some capitalist countries. The lack of raw and semifinished materials imported from these countries is leading to a further slump in the production of many articles. W. Jaruzelski cited relevant examples.

Against the background of this difficult situation, he then stressed, the enormous significance of stable cooperation with and aid from the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, is clearly discernible. Everyone knows the former dimensions of this aid. In the last few days Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has reported a CPSU Central Committee Politburo decision on additional supplies of raw and semifinished materials to Poland. They will include cotton, leather, wool, synthetic fiber and plastics, synthetic rubber, alumina and viscose cellulose. These deliveries will ensure work for hundreds of enterprises and tens of thousands of people. In Poland now there is a group of Soviet economic workers and specialists who together with their counterparts from the Polish side are examining the possibilities of making better use of our production potential with the aid of the land of the soviets and in cooperation with its economy.

We are sure that the visit to the Soviet Union by a Polish party and state delegation in early March will promote the further expansion of our international cooperation and the consolidation of the Polish-Soviet alliance and friendship.

We have a program of economic normalization, W. Jaruzelski said. On 25 January this year I set forth its main amended provisions from the Sejm rostrum. We consider the main tasks to be supplying the people with food, safeguarding the foundations of society's life and acquiring economic independence. We must count primarily on our own effort.

The party organizations must exercise political control everywhere over the correct introduction of economic reform in accordance with the adopted provisions.

Much also has to be done in the countryside. We value the significance of the Polish peasants' hard toil. The state's agrarian policy, jointly elaborated by the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD, is a stable one.

We must do everything for the growth of agricultural production through the rational use of every hectare of arable land, an increase in supplies of machinery, equipment and production facilities and their better utilization, and an improvement in the standard of agricultural management. Party control must be established over the entire sphere of services to agriculture.

The rights of the local organs of power are being expanded. The leadership of increasingly broad spheres of socioeconomic life is being transferred into their hands. That is why it is essential on the one hand to make fuller use of the resulting opportunities and on the other to exercise political control over the activity of the local administration. It is a case of ensuring that this process correctly serves the implementation of the social objectives set before the party.

In connection with the socioeconomic problems the party organs and organizations must switch to a new way of thinking and inspire and stimulate actions at enterprises, in the city and in the countryside. Here it is not a case of the party managing the economy or its individual elements or issuing directives. The leadership of economic processes is a matter for the state and economic administration, which also bears the responsibility for the fulfillment of the tasks set.

Everything of importance and of vital significance to the state, people and working people cannot be a matter of indifference to the party. The party must be the representative of the working class in determining the strategic goals of economic policy and accomplishing them in practice. At the same time, with the aid of the communists the party must everywhere be to the fore, at every workplace. This is the beginning and the essence of the possibility of exerting political influence and attracting work comrades to the party's policy.

There is one basic criterion for a Marxist-Leninist party: Its link with the working class and the working people's trust in it.

In the present situation the restoration of trust is the main goal of our activity. People ask: Can our party, after such upheavals and such a grave experience, resolve the tasks facing it? The opinion has even been expressed that it must be disbanded and a new party created. It has been suggested that its name be changed.

There is no need for that. The party with its present, now historical, name and existing organizational structures can find in itself the strength to be completely regenerated and to guide the working class effectively.

Revolutionary spirit is measured not by words but by deeds. We want to be a party whose revolutionary spirit does not weaken after winning power or attaining a single success. Such a party does not usurp the leading role, it possesses it.

We must win a firm position within the working class so that working people may be confident that there is a force which thinks and acts in accordance with their will, in their interests and for their cause. On the historical scale it is the party which has fulfilled and continues to fulfill this role.

The party is gradually recovering its strength. It is a historical fact that, despite heavy defeats, the party has survived and has not disintegrated, and the overwhelming majority of its members have remained loyal to the PZPR.

Great credit here goes to the party aktiv and those party members who were not demoralized under the enemy's onslaught. They have undergone a harsh school of political struggle and have acquired experience and the necessary tempering. Those who held out and proved their ideological fiber and valor serve as an example for the regeneration of the party's strength and activity.

Profound cadre changes have taken place in the party. As for the leading cadres, we can even speak of an upheaval. As a result of the election campaign on the eve of the ninth congress there was an almost complete change of leadership cadres in the party. This change encompassed almost 80 percent of voivodship committees and over 65 percent of city, parish and village organizations. Some 50 percent of primary party organization first secretaries are people who have been elected to these posts for the first time. In the past 18 months 53 percent of political workers have left the party apparatus for various reasons.

These figures give an idea of the cadre changes in the party, the largest in the PZPR's history.

There are also side effects. Many selfless and honest comrades were not elected for various reasons. A considerable number were obliged to leave as a result of the reorganization and curtailment of the administrative apparatus. This has harmed no one. However, difficulties have arisen in providing them with work and an unhealthy atmosphere has been created around them. The party and the people's state cannot allow themselves to have "young pensioners" embittered by their situation. This must be resolutely combated.

We recall the difficult political situation in which the last party elections took place. They also had a considerable impact on changes among the party cadres and led to an extensive replacement of generations and a marked reduction in the average age of the aktiv. However, a certain proportion of the young people, while full of eagerness and enthusiasm, did not have adequate knowledge or experience. Others lacked tempering and principledness. As a result of ideological laxity and confusion, party posts in some organizations were taken by weak people unable to maintain a party position and who sometimes even succumbed to the influence of the antisocialist forces. However, it was not democracy which let the party down. In the election campaign, as in all party activity, the disorientation of society, which also carried over into the party, made itself felt. The onslaught of hostile forces and the offensive of alien ideology crossed the threshold of many primary party organizations and even some elected organs. The party will retain its strength and cohesion only if it strengthens in its daily practice the Leninist principle of democratism and centralism.

We will not deviate from the norms of party life enshrined in the new PZPR rules and in the program and decision of the ninth congress. The course of events renders topical and amends some individual provisions, but the line of the ninth congress remains in force.

The exceptional situation prompted the Politburo to issue the instruction known to the comrades on the party's activity under martial law conditions. It was of an interim nature. It must be said in self-criticism that we are limiting its provisions too slowly -- more slowly than individual martial law restrictions are being eased. This must be put right immediately.

The party has been, is and will be the leading force of the people, including the Polish people's armed forces. Martial law gives rights and imposes special obligations on the army. The harmonious interacton of party bodies, administrative organs and the military authorities is an essential condition for the rapid, correct solution of specific problems.

The Military Council of National Salvation, as is well known, is made up of party members. We expect the PZPR Central Committee to approve their activity in the seventh plenum's decision.

The party lives and functions, and it is analyzing its errors in order to overcome them. It will not be an eternal convalescent. The party's leading role is the indestructible principle of socialist building. Not a single people has built or defended socialism without a Marxist-Leninist party. We are not the only ones to know that. The enemies of socialism are also aware of this truth. That is why they have launched such a sharp attack on the party, using the untenable slogan "Socialism without the party." That is not socialism, it is a ship without a rudder or sails.

The attack was tangible only because we had been unable to draw conclusions in good time from the shortcomings accumulating in the party. When the party weakens and goes on the defensive, a crack is formed, and then a breach. It emerged in the consciousness of a substantial proportion of the working people. The working people have the right to ask what real guarantees there are that we will never repeat our errors and that there will be no need for another renewal. The party members also want to know whether the fund of experience recently acquired will be squandered or not.

That is why we are seeking not immediate, tactical solutions but ways for the genuine, lasting irreversible rebirth of our party. Let us say more: We are seeking guarantees that at today's plenum we shall be speaking of alienation from the working class for the last time in the PZPR's history.

How do we create truly reliable guarantees?

There are three spheres in which the answer to this question must be sought. First, by getting closer to the working class' daily life and to the working people; and those mechanisms penetrating deep within the party itself and making it possible to counter our errors rapidly and effectively.

Second, the consolidation of the party's organizational and ideological-political unity, and observance of the principles of intraparty democracy. Third, the need for the convergence of the party's theoretical base and its practical activity.

Speaking of the primary party organizations, W. Jaruzelski stressed that they are the party's nucleus. Activeness in its work and responsibility to it are the distinguishing feature of membership of a party of the Leninist type. It was no accident and it was not for formal reasons that V.I. Lenin placed this principle at the very beginning of the party rules. This concept is characteristic of the social democratic parties only "in a general way." The Communists operate primarily in their own primary organizations. This applies equally to members of the party leadership.

Frequently, bureaucratic inertia, parasitism, speculation, bribetaking, unearned enrichment, excessive income from the labor invested and other abnormal phenomena anger the working people more than the day-to-day difficulties. The workers and working people assess the party and the socialist state from the viewpoint of their effective struggle against these phenomena. In the struggle against criminal elements we will always be implacable and consistent.

On behalf of the Central Committee I want to express my gratitude to our comrades in arms, the soldiers of the Polish Army, for whom martial law means a considerable increase in duties. They are not sparing their efforts to fulfill the tasks set before them and are displaying a high degree of discipline, ideological fiber and civic awareness.

I thank the militia and the security organs for considerably reducing the level of crime for the first time in many years, uncovering many serious crimes and exposing espionage activity.

Touching on questions of organizational and ideological-political unity as a condition for the restoration of the party's true nature, W. Jaruzelski denounced factional activity.

"There is an objective logic in the factional struggle," V.I. Lenin wrote, "which inevitably leads even the best people, if they insist on the incorrect stance they have adopted, to a position which in fact in no way differs from unprincipled demagoguery."

We have one, and only one, ideology. There is only one socialism -- Marxist-Leninist socialism. That is the socialism we want to build, combining its universal principles with the specific characteristics inherent only in Polish conditions. Our adversary maintains that socialism does not lend itself to reforms. This is not true. Reforms are inherent in socialism in the best sense of this word. I do not mean reformist capitulation but constant enrichment by new experience and the new content accumulated during the stages in the development of the life of our society. Marxism-Leninism is a living ideology. How then did it happen that for a section of society this is a hollow truth, one detached from reality? The party is guilty of ideological neglect on a large scale. At the same time we are also experiencing ideological hunger. If we do not satisfy it we will complicate the rebirth of the party.

Today, more than at any other item, we need the wisdom of our teaching. We expect party theoretical centers, Marxist scholars and social science specialists to play a more active role. Too few of their elaborations are implemented as part of the life of the state, too few become social practice. There remain many unresolved theoretical problems in the party, as well as everyday doubts accentuated by the crisis.

W. Jaruzelski then dwelt on questions relating to the party's cadre policy.

In his report Comrade W. Jaruzelski called on party organs to devote more attention to the problems of culture.

We have great respect for our teachers. Their difficult work and their enormous services in educating the young generation have always been fully appreciated. Party organizations in VUZes have urgent and important tasks to fulfill. The most important thing at the moment is to ensure that calm and an atmosphere of normal study and work reign in student and teacher circles.

Party propaganda must be an object of particular interest at the present time. Its workers are serving in the frontline of the cause of socialism. We are expecting propagandists to choose the right form of activity for the good of the socialist way of thinking and for the good of social and patriotic aspirations.

The PZPR is responsible for the fate of socialism both to society and to the international communist and workers movement, as well as to the world forces of progress.

We want to express our sincere gratitude to the overwhelming majority of the communist and workers parties of the world for their many manifestations of proletarian internationalism. This is of great significance since the bourgeois mass media's interpretation of the events in Poland has created difficulties in the activities and struggle of many parties.

We want to thank the CPSU and the parties of the fraternal socialist countries for taking a responsible, realistic attitude toward the events in our country. These parties have respected our party's right to evaluate the degree of danger and determine the methods needed to counter it. At the same time they have formulated their own interpretation of the individual stages of the political struggle in Poland. They understood our decision. This is valuable confirmation of the principles of the international workers movement and evidence of the sovereignty of the countries of the socialist community.

We always support equality in relations between parties. We observe the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of other communist parties. Unfortunately, certain parties in West Europe have shown no desire to understand the particular features of our difficult situation.

In our opinion, the leadership of the Italian Communist Party is behaving in just such a fashion. We are particularly distressed that this party is using false information and has not turned to us for detailed explanations.

With time, all the parties will doubtless come to understand the real meaning of the events in Poland and will appreciate the contribution of our party to the common cause of progress and the struggle against imperialism. For our part, we are prepared to provide the necessary information and to enter into concrete party discussions.

In conclusion, W. Jaruzelski said:

We are presenting a draft PZPR ideological declaration to this plenum. We are submitting this document for discussion by the whole party. After the opinions expressed during the discussion have been analyzed, it will be submitted to the Central Committee for approval, probably at the next plenum. Then we will familiarize the nation as a whole with this document.

This year we will be celebrating two anniversaries that are important not only for the party but for the people as a whole, namely, the 100th anniversary of the workers movement on our land and the 40th anniversary of the Polish Workers Party. The Polish workers movement was born in a country that had been wiped off the map of Europe. It immediately began to speak in the Polish language and became infused with Polish originality. The Polish Workers Party was born in an enslaved country, and from the outset it based its program around the slogans of independence and social justice. This gives us the moral right to speak the truth to the nation about socialism, about the party and about itself.

IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION DEFICIENT IN POLAND

PM021443 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 82 p 3

["Polish Reportage" by correspondent U. Orlik: "Young People Look to the Future"]

[Text] Warsaw-Katowice -- In an item entitled "Youth -- An Attempted Diagnosis" SZTANDAR MLODYCH (which resumed publication the other day after a 2-month break) noted: "... The past 18 months have shown our ideological influence to be superficial. Apparently, young people do not know Marxism and are unable to apply it; they fail to recognize their own interests as a generation and are unable, finally, to assess events from a historical viewpoint and think in state terms. This goes a long toward explaining the uncritical and casual way young people succumb to the crowd mentality, strike hysteria and so forth. Of course the reasons for these phenomena can partly be explained: Young people's lack of historical knowledge is due to incomplete training programs, poor standard of teaching social and political disciplines at higher educational establishments, one-sidedness of the old propaganda and so forth. But the fact remains that the phenomena of ideological defenselessness exists...."

Undoubtedly a bleak diagnosis. Yet its very ruthlessness indicates a serious intention to deal with the disease. Clearly, what is needed here is a whole range of measures from the creation of new history and social sciences textbooks for senior students and the reorganization of social and political sciences teaching in higher educational establishments (in particular, the revision of the so-called Lodz agreements concluded under pressure of student strikes provoked by extremists) to the elaboration of new forms of political enlightenment for youngsters in youth unions. Something is already being done in this sphere.

A social and political knowledge competition has started in Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) organizations. Its theme, "the working class in the process of change," is directly related to the current situation in the country. The purpose of the competition, comrades in Sosnowiec told me, is to establish the level of political training of young men and women and to broaden their outlook and knowledge of the history of the Polish revolutionary movement. It is taking place in five stages over a 5-month period -- January through May. The competition begins in groups -- the basic cells of the ZSMP -- and is then conducted at enterprise, district, city and voivodship level, with an all-Polish final whose winners get a place in a higher educational establishment -- the right to attend a political science department without taking examinations.

At this time ZSMP primary organizations are also discussing "what kind of Poland -- what kind of union?" Launching it, the ZSMP Main Board Presidium noted in its address to the union comrades: "Recent months have been for many of us a difficult period necessitating a political as well as moral choice. The process is not over. We, as ideological education organizations, have a duty, by pointing out the fundamental values of socialist ideology, to help young people find their bearings in the changes that are taking place -- to point out the younger generation's development prospects. It is for that reason that we are putting to you the chief question of the day: 'What kind of Poland -- what kind of union?' This lays the foundation for a unionwide discussion on the theme of political, social and economic conditions for the successful implementation of the program declaration of the Third ZSMP Congress. The comments, suggestions and observations made during the discussion will be the basis for the preparation of a plenary session of the ZSMP Main Board devoted to problems of strengthening the ideopolitical character of the ZSMP."

This discussion -- on the future of Poland and the youth movement -- is extremely topical. Especially when you consider that the past 18 months have led to chaos and disorientation not only in the economy. The damage done to the national economy by strikes and the extreme relaxation of labor and production discipline can be calculated. But how do you measure the moral devastation, the political disorientation and the chaos in hearts and minds left behind by those 18 months of basically unbridled "black propaganda" by the Solidarity ringleaders and their well-paid experts. In Katowice Voivoship I was able to acquaint myself with some forms of brainwashing to which the "spiritual leaders" of Polish counterrevolution resorted. Ostensibly it was harmless enough. The experts expressed a desire to lecture at the Upper Silesia Society for the Spread of Knowledge. They were given a hall immediately. The society's list of lecturers contained the familiar names Kuron, Michnik, Litynski, Czuma, Chojecki, Lipski and Maria and Leszek Moczulski. Adam Michnik was a particularly willing visitor to Katowice. He peppered his speeches with nasty, malicous "jokes" about the party, socialism and the law-enforcement organs. And in the hall sat young people -- students and workers. Maxims filled with hatred were lodging in their consciousness. Those who tried to deny Mr Michnik's declamations were, as a rule, shouted down by a specially selected mob from the Independent Union of Students.

"Yes, the truth was shouted down," Michal Krecisz, chairman of the ZSMP Board in Sosnowiec, told me bitterly. "It was driven from the platform, which makes our propagandists' task today all the harder."

"Demagoguery is dangerous not only because of its direct consequences but also because it can incite a man to do wrong, involve him in a strike, in a protest action." It devalues existing values and turns conventional concepts upside down. A most striking example of this is the distortion of the "solidarity" concept in the parlance of the trade union association figures, or, for instance, the introduction into the consciousness of such a term as "socialism for all," which makes one immediately assume the existence of an elite socialism. This is not just playing with words, it is the way the counterrevolutionary ideologists undermined and eroded the consciousness of the working class, especially young people.

Another important sphere of the ZSMP's daily preoccupations is that connected with young people's everyday social problems.

"The 'Solidarity' ringleaders spent all their power on politicking," Michal Krecisz remarked. "They did not have time to act as 'protective gauntlets' for the workers, as they themselves used to say. And that applied not only to questions of labor safety and hygiene -- all the vital concerns of the working man. A great many have accumulated. And the solutions cannot be postponed until tomorrow. As you know, youth is impatient."

Poland has yet another very acute problem -- housing. And although they say that "it is paradise even in a hovel when you are with your loved one," the search for a more substantial roof over one's head begins, as a rule, during the actual honeymoon. How do you enable young families to get apartments more quickly? The ZSMP has always regarded this as a serious matter. Some years ago the union put forward the idea of youth patronage of housing construction. The idea is that young people build houses for themselves and work off the full cost of the future apartment at the construction site. A construction materials bank has also been set up to hold what the youth teams produce in excess of the plan -- all that is needed to erect a block. At the moment 10,000 apartments are being constructed within the framework of ZSMP patronage. Three of the blocks are going up in Sosnowiec. Two of them, containing 50 and 116 apartments, are to be completed in April or May this year.

After the housewarming come the other preoccupations -- equipping the apartment. Here the state comes to the aid of young people by enabling them to obtain long-term credit. But the credit is obviously inadequate now as a result of inflation and the considerable rise in furniture, domestic appliance and household equipment prices. And the ZSMP has secured a government decision to double the amount of credit. It is paid back over 5 years at a small rate of interest. Moreover, young families can get a very substantial, free loan from the enterprise social fund to pay back the credit. But it is conditional on good and continuous work at the enterprise. Loans are therefore becoming an incentive for the best personnel, a way of keeping cadres at the production unit. A network of specialized stores has been set up to handle the credit checks.

Of course, the picture I have painted is somewhat idealized. It does not reflect the real difficulties the Polish economy is currently experiencing. ZSMP activists are aware that the only way to rectify the situation is to stir young people's labor initiative at every plant, mine and construction site.

The search for reserves sparked, among other things, the idea of organizing youth worker cooperatives with a view to helping the national economy to cope with the protracted crisis. They undertake to produce consumer goods and provide the public with repair and household services. The cooperatives have another task -- to create new jobs. The fact of the matter is that introducing economic reforms and the principles of financial autonomy and independent financing in enterprises inevitably means staff cuts. In order to prevent unemployment, which affects the young first of all, manpower must be regrouped and a proportion of these people sent to work in the consumer and services sphere after training them in new professions.

The young workers collectives in Plock, Lielce and Koszalin are well-known. More associations of this kind -- to build single-family homes and repair household equipment -- are also being created in Sosnowiec. The last-named is being created around the Sielma small engine plant, in which 25 people have expressed a desire to work. How will the cooperative work? The parent enterprise will buy the engines and the spares for them, and the tools, and will equip a household equipment repair shop. The profit made after deductions to pay for the equipment and supplies received will form the wages fund. The collective will have a bank account to handle all its financial dealings with suppliers. Some people will be able to work there after finishing a shift elsewhere (this will require the enterprise's permission), while for others it will be their regular job.

I have touched on only a small proportion of the current concerns of ZSMP activists in the small worker's township of Sosnowiec. There are still problems. Their initiatives often still founder on the barrier of mistrust and suspiciousness, but they are not giving up. Rather than waiting around for the long hoped-for changes they are busy hastening their arrival.

DECEIT BEHIND PIAST MINE STRIKE EXAMINED

PM031021 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Feb 82 pp 1, 14

[Special correspondent Vladimir Lomeyko dispatch under the rubric "Conspiracy Against Poland": "Terror Above and Below Ground: How Counterrevolution Deceives and Intimidates Polish Workers"]

[Text] Katowice -- On arrival in Poland I heard from many people dramatic details of the strike at the Piast mine, which began the day after martial law was introduced in the country. I wanted to visit the scene of the events myself, to go down the mine and talk with the people who had spent 2 weeks down there without a break, from 14 through 28 December, in order to understand what had prompted these people then and what they think about it today. For this was one of the most dramatic and contradictory pages in the history of the Polish crisis.

I was prompted to make the trip by a report that at the end of January counterrevolutionary pamphlets had been appearing in the Katowice region, where the Piast mine is located. One of them, signed the "Solidarity Resistance Forces," contained detailed instructions on how to fight the authorities under conditions of martial law.

At 1700 I was at the Piast mine together with APN Warsaw correspondent Leonic Chernoryzh. In the locker room, I was given miner's coveralls and a bag containing a lamp.

In the cage we were initially let down to the first level at 500 meters, and then the second level at 650 meters. The general director of the mine, Czeslaw Gelner (49, director for 6 years now), and Jeremiasz Sitek (53, surveyor and miner for 27 years now), who were accompanying me, told me that the mine is one of the largest and most modern in Poland, with a collective of 8,200 of whom 6,800 are miners. In the course of the year 3,000 people had been taken on for work and about 1,800 had been fired. The average age was 25.5. Most of the new recruits are from rural areas.

We entered a quite spacious underground chamber where we met several young miners. I asked which of them had been among the strikers for the whole 14 days. There were three of them.

I asked them to describe how it all began. They exchanged silent glances. They did not object, but neither did they manifest any particular desire. When I asked them to give their names, one of them said reluctantly:

"Perhaps that's not necessary... Ask the others."

"I don't need your surnames, just your first names, so we can talk. I'm not interested in who started the strike but how it started. I tried to overcome their wariness. They introduced themselves: Wiesiek (21) and Krzysztof (24).

"On 14 December at 1400 our first shift ended work and we were getting ready in this chamber to go back up to the surface. But the gates of the ascent cage were locked. Nobody knew what is was all about," Krzysztof said.

"There were about 300 of us on the first shift. Nobody could go up to the surface. At the same time the second shift began to come down," Wiesiek continued. "It became very cramped. Those arriving from the surface couldn't give a clear explanation of anything. They said that there was a meeting going on at the surface, where people were speaking out against martial law.

"We were all agitated," Wiesiek continued. "Almost all of us were young. We had never experienced martial law and did not know what it was. But we did not like restriction of freedoms."

"I was also on the first shift," the third rather older miner, Andrzej, joined in our conversation. "In the morning when we went down to the face, we already knew that martial law had been introduced. And the guys were saying that it had been introduced for the people who did most work. I myself am a member of the party. But like the others I said: I do not like martial law. That was the only thing everyone around was talking about. And nobody kept us here by force, we all wanted to stay ourselves," he added suddenly.

"Yes, and the people coming from the second shift joined us, too. At first, anyone who wanted to could go back up to the surface," Wiesiek repeated persistently.

"But you said that the gates of the ascent cage were closed?" I asked.

"Yes, closed, but anyone who really wanted to got out," he persisted.

This was also the truth, but only the small part of the truth which this young and inexperienced guy, who up till now had alternated between fright, uncertainty and obstinacy in his eyes, voice and gestures, was able to see at the time here deep below ground.

Meanwhile Up at the Surface

Meanwhile up at the surface events were going on of which Wiesiek, Krzysztof and their comrades knew nothing. At 1330 on 14 December, when the second shift had begun to get ready in the big locker room, a large crowd of surface workers engaged in supplying various equipment and materials, appeared. They were led by the chairman of the local section of Solidarity, Zawadzski. In full view of the miners getting ready to go down, he went up to the statue of St Barbara, the patron saint of miners, whose image is on display on the end wall of the room.

Zawadzski clasped his hands as in prayer, and stood stock-still. Those standing behind him prayed aloud, almost under their breath, but so that the miners standing around could hear:

"Let us pray for life and health of Szelagoswki and Dziwak, who have been brutally beaten and arrested."

Foreman Stanislaw Bigaj (48, employed at the Piast mine for 6 years, but a miner for 29 years in all) said:

"Miners and workers from other sections began to gather around Zawadzski. There were several hundred people. Someone took up the prayer aloud and others began to join in, while others argued and cursed. There was an incredible noise."

Mine director Czeslaw Gelner said:

"At about 3 in the afternoon I tried to talk with the people in the room. I began to explain to them why martial law had been introduced and that Dziwak and Szelagowski, as extremist leaders of Solidarity, had been interned. The only response was whistles and curses. The group of loudmouths did not let me speak."

Soon engineer Bogacz, a member of the Solidarity National Commission for the Mining Industry, appeared at the meeting. Previously he had been surveyor at the Piast Mine, but when he was elected to the Solidarity leadership he worked at the commission in Katowice.

Bogacz and Zawadzski, as eyewitnesses at the mine told me, began to persuade the gathered workers to disperse. After that they told the mine leadership they would go down to the first and second shift to explain to them the need to return to the surface. With that they left, but they did not come back. Neither with the miners, nor on their own.

As for what happened down below, Bogacz and Zawadzski emphatically maintain that the miners did not listen to their attempts at persuasion and kept them in the mine themselves until the end of the strike. But others told me that Bogacz and Zawadzski stage-managed their detention so as to remain among the strikers and take part in coordinating their actions.

I am talking about this in such detail in order to show with what sophistication the strike organizers acted and to what subterfuges they resorted. It is especially important to know this, since the underground is continuing to perfect its weapons of deception and intimidation.

The Machinery of Deception

When we talked to the young miner Wiesiek at "golden sands" ("zolotyy pasok") 650 meters below the surface, he said frankly:

"When we came down on the morning of 14 December we still did not know we would be making a protest."

"What happened then? I asked.

"Bogacz and Zawadzski soon arrived at 'golden sands'" Wiesiek said. "They told us: 'You must understand that since martial law has been introduced you must go back up. Otherwise the militia will smoke you out by force. But the miners shouted: 'They have bribed you, you have betrayed us. We will not let you out of here'"

The naive Wiesiek still believes every word he heard at that time. He has still not learned to see through the people who were shouting and to understand why this was done. He has never learned to compare events and make correlations. He and his comrades, as he himself admitted, did not even think to protest. And there is nothing strange in the fact that within a couple of hours they had all adopted demands which somebody read out to them in the name of them all. They contained four points:

-- To free the arrested Solidarity members Szelagowski and Dziwak;

-- To revoke martial law;

-- To guarantee safety for all those taking part in the protest;

-- To prepare 1,800 helpings of soup.

But then somebody said: "They'll put powder in the soup and we'll get stomachache," and they abandoned the fourth point.

By this time, on the night of the 14-15 December, 460 men had descended from the first to the second level and there were now 1,816 strikers.

By talking to the older miners with more experience and sharper wits, I found out how people were brainwashed in the mine.

In order to impress upon people the necessity and legitimacy of the strike, extracts from the Polish Constitution were read to them to convince them that the declaration of martial law was an illegal act. The actual decree on martial law was cited in such a way that the miners could only draw the conclusion that from now on they would have to work all 7 days of the week without any days off, for 12 hours a day.

As well as this, somebody at the surface provided the strikers with false information. It came in notes with food and also in letters. Certain doctors and priests brought them with them. It was reported that 46 mines and dozens of the country's major enterprises were on strike in Poland and that a national strike committee had been formed which was monitoring the situation in the country.

Then the news arrived that Solidarity had allegedly called for a general national uprising on 28 December and that if the strikers held out until then they would be freed as national heroes. Many genuinely believed this.

The strike organizers created a "victory mood" by various means. Thus, large stores of food, including fruit and liquor, had already been stashed in various parts of the mine. I was shown a gallery with remains of food in it.

However, when the food supplies began to give out, and people's physical condition and morale began to weaken, many miners tried to find a way up to the surface. They were intimidated. They were told that at the surface tanks and the militia were waiting for the strikers, but primarily that they would be arrested, have their bones broken and then be sent to camps, where they would live in tents in the cold in the sports stadium in Chorzow.

They resorted to the most blatant deception in order to intimidate. One miner managed to make it to the surface and on the same day his wife sent him a food parcel. So the "militants" kept the parcel for 3 days and then pretended it had just arrived.

"So you see," they told the miners, "he got out 3 days ago but his wife does not even know about it. That means he has been arrested or shot."

But even such terrible deception and threats could not stop many. On 22 December 200 fled, on 23 December it was 162, for Christmas on the 24th it was 210, on the 25th -- 23, on the 26th -- 86, on the 27th -- 21....

Those who were caught escaping were abused and beaten with sticks. I saw these weapons of terror for myself: wooden clubs, knives and iron-tipped rubber tubes.

It also turned out that there were stocks of dynamite stashed in the mine. In some places explosions were caused to block up the passages. Some "tough guys" carried packets of explosives prominently at their belts, as if to say, if necessary we'll blow you all up.

Threats also reached the surface. This became known in the miners' families, which could not fail to traumatize wives, children and older relatives.

Jan Poldniak, editor in chief of Polish radio in Katowice, and his deputy, Zdzislaw Rembesa, let me hear taped conversations between miners down the mine and their wives and children. It is not possible to listen to these voices, which are living witnesses of deception and grief, without a shudder.

"Jurek!" a wife cries to her husband in an uncontrolled voice. "Come to the surface, Jurek, I beg you, come out. There is no militia here."

"I can't come out...."

The thin little voice of quite a young girl:

"Dad! What shall we do? Mom has gone quite weak, she's fainted."

"Ask the neighbor to help," a miner down below says in a cheerless voice.

"Come up to the top, Dad."

"No, cope on your own. You're big now." There is uncertainty and despair in the father's voice.

Many Poles told me that when they heard these recorded voices on the radio they cried.

Many of the miners from the Piast mine also cried when 28 December, after 2 weeks of incarceration underground, they could no longer be detained and they came to the surface.

Recovery of sight? Yes. But don't think that they were left in peace.

The whole day on 29 December from morning onwards miners kept going to the director. For under martial law, they had been fired as having disobeyed orders. And the miners wrote statements requesting their reinstatement at work because they had been forced to strike by deception.

But after a few days, talk went round again that the protest and strike had been "spontaneous."

During the preliminary investigation into the case of the 12 organizers and leaders of the strike at the Piast mine, many miners admitted instances of pressure and intimidation. But at the court hearing they began to renounce their evidence.

Why? There is only one answer to this question: They were afraid. They admitted this themselves in private conversations on a one to one basis. They were afraid because they had felt the cunning, perfidy and brutality of these people in their own experience. Even today they are making themselves felt in pamphlets and provocations. Their aim as before is to deceive and intimidate. Counterrevolution is based on this. And the most painful blow for it is vigilance and creative labor. Already on 29 December the miners of the Piast mine brought 18,000 tons of coal to the surface.

"With a plan target of 18,000 tons of coal in January, we are extracting 19-20,000, veteran miner Jeremiasz Sitek said, "and we are doing everything to ensure that the Piast mine provides the country with coal."

ROMANIA'S NICOLESCU SPEAKS ON USSR ARMY DAY

PM021207 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Feb 82 p 4

[Text] Bucharest, 19 Feb (TASS) -- A ceremonial meeting marking Soviet Army and Navy Day has been held at the Army Central House. Col Gen. M. Nicolescu, Romanian deputy minister of national defense, who addressed those assembled, noted that relations of friendship and cooperation are developing between the Romanian Army and the Soviet Armed Forces both on a bilateral basis and within the Warsaw Pact framework. This, he stressed, accords with the mutual desire to strengthen Romanian-Soviet friendship in the interests of our peoples and the cause of socialism, peace and international cooperation. On behalf of the Romanian Armed Forces he conveyed warm congratulations to the USSR Armed Forces on their holiday and wished them new successes in combat and political training.

MEETING MARKS CZECHOSLOVAK REGIME'S ANNIVERSARY

PM261301 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 82 p 4

[Text] TASS -- A public meeting held in Moscow 24 February was devoted to the 34th anniversary of the Czechoslovak working people's February victory over reaction. The speeches emphasized that decisive political battles by the working class for the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat took place in Czechoslovakia in February 1948. The victory achieved under the Communist Party's leadership opened up the road to socialist building before the country. Z. Cheben, minister plenipotentiary and counsellor at the CSSR Embassy in the USSR, pointed out that Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation now embraces all spheres of sociopolitical, economic, scientific technical and cultural life. The combat alliance and close cooperation of the CPCZ and the CPSU are its core. The regular meetings between Comrades G. Husak and L.I. Brezhnev have become important stages in strengthening the bonds of friendship between the two countries' peoples. C. Lovetinsky, CSSR ambassador to the USSR, participated in the meeting.

PRAVDA CITES SPD FIGURE ON MISSILES ISSUE

AU021435 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 82 p 1

[Correspondent V. Mikhaylov dispatch: "West's Dishonest Methods"]

[Text] Bonn, 26 Feb — Resistance is mounting in the FRG to the American plans for turning West Europe into a springboard for nuclear missiles weapons targeted on the USSR. A considerable proportion of district and land organizations of the ruling Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] have opposed the deployment of American Pershing II and cruise missiles in the country and have also demanded that a moratorium be declared on medium-range nuclear weapons for the duration of the Geneva talks.

O. Lafontaine, leader of the SPD organization in Saar, is taking an active part in the debate now underway in the country.

In theses on the problem of nuclear missile arms published by the newspaper FRANFKURTER RUNDSCHAU he points to the great danger due to the fact that the formula of approximate equality of forces that constitutes the basis for East-West talks on arms reduction is in practice sometimes flagrantly distorted by the Western side. Exploiting the fact that different weapons systems are developed in the West and in the East and that these cannot always be at an equal level, the advocates of an arms buildup are forever "discovering" new "gaps" in their military might and then calling for them to be "closed." The start of the Geneva talks, O. Lafontaine writes, has been marked by the continuation of this dangerous practice. Considering the fact that the United States and NATO rely mainly on air and naval forces and the USSR relies on ground forces, the American proposal to reduce to zero the ground-launched missiles in Europe is a "transparent propaganda maneuver bereft of any seriousness." "The Soviet proposal is far more honest," Lafontaine writes; "It includes, just as was the case with SALT, all nuclear delivery vehicles -- in the air, on water and on land."

The author opposes the policy of hushing up the fact that the United States frustrated ratification of the treaty on the limitation of strategic armaments. By sending thousands of new-generation cruise missiles into its air and naval forces, the United States is starting a new stage in the arms race. By frustrating the adoption of SALT II, Lafontaine remarks, Washington eliminated the basis of the NATO decision on medium-range nuclear missiles. After all, the Atlantic bloc members that took the decision were proceeding from the premise that SALT II would be ratified by the United States and would enter into force. After this failed to happen, the author concludes, the NATO dual decision ought to have been rescinded without any replacement.

IZVESTIYA REFUTES BONN CDU LEADER ON TERRORISM

PM261617 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Feb 82 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent A. Grigoryants article under the rubric "On a Topical Theme": "A Short-Lived Lie"]

[Text] Bonn — Mr Beden is a bigwig. He heads the security service in Bonn. Unlike his colleagues, he is not without political ambitions — he is leader of the city Christian Democratic Union [CDU] organization in his home town. In this capacity Beden went to Rome the other day, where he addressed a meeting of representatives of Christian parties. His speech could be dismissed with the words: let him ramble on.... But the reaction to it shows that it was not simply a question of a virtually unknown official mounting the platform at an international meeting.

Beden had hardly made his bow to the audience when his speech was published in the DEUTSCHLAND-UNION-DIENST, press bulletin of the FRG's Christian Democratic Party, under the heading "Moscow guides the terror, the threat to internal peace."

It is hardly necessary to go through Mr Beden's work and his ramblings about the "hand of Moscow," which, he says, supports rightwing and leftwing terrorism and is allegedly creating neo-Nazi groups in West Germany, training young people to lay dynamite and kidnap high-ranking Western figures. This is nothing but an absurdity.

Every sensible person knows that the USSR has been and remains opposed in principle to the theory and practice of terrorism. And that includes, of course, terrorism in international relations. Our country comes out against terrorist acts, which lead to the senseless death of people and disrupt diplomatic activity and transport links between countries. It is the Soviet Union which insists at all forums that strict measures be adopted to stop terrorism, in particular air piracy, not to mention the sallies of Nazi werewolves. Nonetheless, a number of FRG press organs, above all Springer's newspapers, fell avidly on the bone of wild fabrications and slander which was tossed to them. Strauss's court newspaper, the BAYERN-KURIER, suffered an anti-Soviet fit and fiercely attacked, at the same time, the German Communist Party [DKP] and other progressive organizations, pinning the label "terrorists" on peace supporters and all dissidents and seeing the intrigues of Soviet agents behind all leading public movements in the FRG.

The fabrication of Beden and his Christian Democratic employers are so absurd that official bodies hurried to refute them. The Federal Department for Criminal Affairs, which has Beden on its staff, stated that its employee's remarks as set out in the DEUTSCHLAND-UNION-DIENST "Do not substantially reflect the agreed assessment of the situation. In particular, there has not been and is no evidence that the Soviet Union controls either RAF [the Red Army Faction] a terrorist leftist-anarchist group -- A.G.) or the bellicose rightwing extremists."

As you can see, the lie about "Red agents' was of the short-lived variety. Beden himself is now babbling something in the way of self-justification. The newspapers misled him, he says. He believed their reports on the Russians' machinations. So the canard was disintegrated almost before it was launched. But the stench is still poisoning the atmosphere in the country. A high-ranking secret police official has given the go-ahead for acts of psychological sabotage, for which the time was not chosen by chance. A tense social situation has developed in the country. Class conflicts are becoming more acute. The movement against the deployment of American missiles in the FRG is gathering speed.

In this situation reactionary circles have resorted to the old method of fanning anti-Sovietism and anticommunism. It started with the statement by the chief of the FRG secret police to the effect that the DKP is inclining increasingly toward a policy of violence. Now there is the lie that acts of terrorism are inspired by the Soviet Union. What will be the next canard to fly out of the nest of the Western special services and press organs? Exposing the hidden mainsprings of the slander campaign, a DKP spokesman stated: "The threads run from the Department for the Protection of the Constitution and the criminal police through the CDU/Christian Social Union [CSU] and certain press organs to the U.S. secret service. Reagan's antidetente policy and the threat to peace, his trade war against Western Europe and his sanctions against the socialist states obviously need obedient helpers -- slanderers -- and anti-Soviet fabrications." As you can see, this time too the CDU/CSU opposition bloc and its agents in the FRG state appartus are setting about this dirty work zealously.

AGREEMENT WITH AUSTRIA ON MORE GAS DELIVERIES

AU261140 Vienna ARBEITER-ZEITUNG in German 26 Geb 82 p 6

[Text] Vienna (APA) -- Basic agreement on the delivery of additonal gas quotas from the USSR was reached in 3-day negotiations in Moscow between the Soviet "Soyusgasexport" foreign trade organization and an Austrian delegation headed by Director General Bauer of the Austrian oil administration [OEMV].

As Bauer declared after his return, the most difficult questions -- quantity and price -- have not been settled yet, however.

The additional Austrian gas requirements, originally estimated at 3-5 billion cubic meters annually, will probably be drastically reduced because of the lower domestic demand and because of the exorbitant price wishes of the Soviets. The now envisaged quota will probably be approximately 1 billion cubic meters per year.

It will now be necessary to ascertain the requirements and price views of the various Austrian provincial gas companies. To this end, talks between the OEMV and these companies will start next week.

Following these talks, the fourth long-term gas delivery agreement (20-25 years) between the OEMV and Soyusgasexport could be finalized. Up to now, Austria has been getting 2.5 billion cubic meters of natural gas from the USSR.

NETHERLANDS COOPERATION COMMISSION MEETS

LD270338 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2035 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] The Hague, 26 Feb (TASS) -- The Sixth Session of the Joint Soviet-Netherlands Commission on Cooperation in the economic, industrial and technical fields was held in the Hague 23-26 February.

The commission examined a wide range of questions pertaining to the state and prospects of development of cooperation, which were given on the whole a positive assessment. It was pointed out that, in 1981, the trade turnover between the two countries increased by 6.5 percent as compared with 1980 and reached 1.5 billion rubles.

A protocol on the results of the session was signed. It highlights the results of Soviet-Netherlands cooperation and marks recommendations for its further expansion.

SWEDISH COMMUNIST DELEGATION ENDS VISIT 23 FEB

PM251439 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 82 p 4

[TASS Report: "Departure for Home"]

[Text] A delegation from the Swedish Communist Workers Party headed by R. Hagel, chairman of the party's board, has been in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The delegation was received at the CPSU Central Committee. The Swedish comrades also visited Moskovskaya Oblast and Estonia, where they familiarized themselves with the work of the party organizations in fulfilling the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, visited industrial and agricultural enterprises and cultural enlightenment institutions and met with working people.

On 23 February the delegation left for home. It was seen off by V.I. Konotop, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moskovskiy Obkom, and V.S. Shaposhnikov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Section.

U.S. GIVES ISRAEL 'GREEN LIGHT' FOR AGGRESSION

PM030743 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Feb 82 p 3

[V. Vinogradov "Military-Political Commentary": "Clouds Over Lebanon"]

[Text] Observers' opinion is unanimous: Dangerous clouds have gathered over Lebanon. The Israeli Army is concentrating subunits and units in northern regions of Israel, where three divisions are already concentrated, and a mechanized brigade has been brought into the southern Lebanese separatists' enclave. "We will not sit idle, we will be the first to strike," Israeli Defense Minister Sharon has stated for all to hear. But if Tel Aviv makes no secret of the fact that it is preparing to fling the full might of its war machine against Lebanon in order to crush its national-patriotic forces and the Palestinian resistance movement, it does everything it can to conceal the fact that these criminal plans are being nurtured with the knowledge and support of the American administration.

According to America's TIME magazine, which reports on this in a recent issue, Defense Minister Sharon and General Eytan, chief of the Israeli Armed Forces General Staff, have elaborated a detailed plan for massive air and land strikes against the PLO's positions in Lebanon. "Within the framework of preparations for the invasion," TIME writes, "Sharon met secretly in mid-January on board an Israeli warship with Bashir al-Jumayyil, chief of the armed formations of the Christian Falangists. They discussed the coordination of efforts by the Israelis and the Falangists to occupy Lebanese territory in the north, almost up to the boundaries of Beirut International Airport.

You may ask how an American weekly -- however well informed -- knows such details. At first hand -- that is, from Israeli sources -- it turns out. In early February an envoy from Begin's government went to Washington on a secret mission. He informed American leaders on the plans for carrying out a large-scale military operation against Lebanon. This information later fell into the hands of the TIME office.

Begin's intentions met with no objections from the American administration. As the French newspaper L'HUMANITE notes, in its attempts to weaken or destroy the Lebanese national-patriotic forces and the Palestinian resistance movement, Israel has always enjoyed Washington's full support. Only a few days ago U.S. Secretary of State Haig once again made crude attacks on the Palestinians -- which in this situation, L'HUMANITE writes, could be regarded by the Begin government as the "green light" for the implementation of aggressive aspirations.

The French newspaper is right, of course. The essence of U.S. Near East policy amounts to ensuring a "free hand" for itself and for its satellite -- Zionist Israel -- in the region. This is the aim of the notorious Camp David process, which enabled Tel Aviv to concentrate its efforts on one front, directed against Lebanon and Syria. It is no accident that since the very moment when this so-called "peace process" began to be implemented, sovereign Lebanon has known scarcely a day's respite and lives under the threat of military intervention by Israel.

And now that the Tel Aviv leadership is stepping up its military preparations on the border with Lebanon, U.S. President Reagan has sent a letter to Begin. In this message he officially assured Israel that the United States regards it as a "friend and ally" and will continue to give it all-round, unconditional support with a view to ensuring "military superiority" over the neighboring Arab countries.

As you see, the situation on Lebanon's borders is becoming extremely threatening. Tel Aviv encouraged by Washington, is ready to unleash large-scale military operations against that Arab country. And an aggressive sortie by Israel could kindle the flames of a new war in the Near East and jeopardize peace not only in the region.

ANNIVERSARY OF IRAN-USSR FRIENDSHIP TREATY NOTED

GF021233 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1630 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Excerpts] Dear listeners: 61 years ago on 26 February 1921, Iran and the Soviet Union signed a friendship and cooperation treaty.

The agreement was the first between Iran and a large country that was signed on the basis of equality. In accordance with this agreement, the Government of the Soviet Union officially recognized Iran's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Leninist foreign policy concerning Eastern nations was reaffirmed in this agreement.

The newspaper SEDA-YE MARDOM wrote at the time: The wise and realistic policy of the great Lenin, leader of the socialist revolution, has opened a new era in Soviet-Iranian relations and has ended the policies of force carried out by the czarist government.

The Soviet Government announced that all agreements, pacts and treaties signed by the czarist government, which were trampling upon the rights of the Iranian nation, had been canceled and were no longer valid. The new Soviet nation condemned all imperialist nations' criminal policies against Middle Eastern countries and boycotted any activity that may have trampled upon Iranian sovereignty.

At the same time, all Russian financial interests and approximately 600 million gold rubles -- a considerable sum at the time -- were given to the people of Iran. The imperialist and reactionary forces have repeatedly tried to blacken Soviet-Iranian relations in the years since the agreement was signed.

The antipopular policies of some Iranian governments resulted in an occasional crisis in this relationship. However, for over 60 years the Soviet Union has always carried out the policy of cooperation and mutual coexistence with Iran.

The Soviet Union completely supports the antimonarchy and anti-imperialist Iranian revolution, which celebrated the third anniversary of its victory some time ago.

Occasionally, comments are heard putting the Soviet Union and the United States at the same level. The experience gained from the 60 years of relations between our countries shows that such baseless allegations are not to the benefit of Iran and its revolution. The 1921 agreement is the unshakable base for mutual coexistence between Iran and the Soviet Union. It is a firm base for further expansion of such relations. This agreement formed the basis of the other agreements signed between Iran and the Soviet Union.

The aim of Soviet policy on Iran has always been to strengthen the friendly ties that were established by the great Lenin.

IRAN'S EXPANSION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS VIEWED

GF030727 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1630 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] Dear listeners: Some days ago Mr Ahmad Tavakkoli, official spokesman of the Islamic Republic of Iran, (?announced) that his government has decided to set up diplomatic missions in Cuba, the PDRY, the DPRK, Malaysia, Mauritania and Ghana. RADIO MOSCOW commentator Vera Lebedeva writes in this context:

The latest moves by your government on the international scene are evidence of the fact that Iran desires to expand cooperation with countries which hold favorable attitudes toward Iran and the Iranian revolution. The countries with which, according to the official spokesman, your country will establish (?permanent) diplomatic relations are those which have adopted such apolicy vis-a-vis Iran. Socialist Cuba is one of those countries which has supported the anti-imperialist national liberation movement of the people of Iran, because it was intensely hated by the shah's regime.

Iran severed all ties with CENTO after the 11 February revolution and threw this aggressive military alliance into the garbage can of history, joining the Nonaligned Movement and later attending the summit conference of the heads of nonaligned states in socialist Cuba's capital, Havana.

The PDRY is among the nations with which Iran wishes to set up diplomatic relations and which had been one of the most uncompromising antagonists of the shah's regime, which acted as the imperialists' gendarme in the region. However, the PDRY has proved itself a loyal supporter of the people of Iran in their anti-imperialist struggle and has expressed its favor and support of the Iranian revolution.

An interesting point that may be noted here is that the countries with which Iran intends to set up diplomatic relations are those which have a united stance on the common anti-imperialist struggle of nations and are resisting all Western efforts to negotiate with them in a bellicose manner on the international scene.

The imperialist propaganda machinery disseminates rumors by all possible means alleging that it is not feasible to set up normal relations with Iran, explaining that Iran does not honor norms and commitments of international relations. This publicity has a specific purpose: That is, to isolate Iran in the international sphere, to impose impediments in the setting up of normal relations between Iran and other countries and to deprive Iran of anti-imperialist (?allies). The news of the establishment in the near future of diplomatic ties between Iran and some socialist and developing countries has foiled these endeavors of the imperialists and their allies. Facts and evidence prove that Iran is willing to set up and expand ties with countries desirous of such relations based on equal rights.

KUWAITI AMBASSADOR SPEAKS ON RELATIONS WITH USSR

LD251552 Kuwait KUNA in English 1500 GMT 25 Feb 82

[Text] Moscow, 25 Feb (KUNA) -- Kuwait's ambassador to the Soviet Union 'Adil al-Jarrah Thursday praised Soviet-Kuwaiti relations describing them as sincere and genuine and in perpetual search for promotion of cooperation.

In a speech marking the 21st anniversary of Kuwait National Day, the ambassador said in a Soviet television interview that world peace and tranquility cannot be attained by division, challenges and muscles flexing but by extending bridges of cooperation and understanding.

Relations between Kuwait and the Soviet Union revealed similarity in viewpoints regarding major world issues and the Arab national causes in particular, the ambassador assured the Soviet people expressing his country's appreciation for the Soviet Union's stand towards Arab causes and the Palestinian case.

Kuwait, which is the only Gulf state maintaining diplomatic relations with Moscow, "greatly appreciates the stands of the Soviet Union and the material, moral and political support it is extending to our causes of fate specially the Palestinian cause," Al-Jarrah said.

U.S. AIMING AT CENTRAL AMERICA-CARIBBEAN BLOC

PM031019 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 82 p 5

[Sergey Svistunov article: "The Bait and the Hook"]

[Text] From the platform of the Washington headquarters of the OAS, U.S. President R. Reagan has finally set forth the main theses of the so-called aid plan to countries in the Caribbean and Central America. The White House did everything possible to stir up publicity around this speech. But those who were expecting a U.S. response to the proposals from Mexico and Nicaragua on settling the crisis situation in Central America, some positive change in American policy with regard to that region or just a more sober approach to the resolution of its difficult problems were disappointed.

At first sight Washington is making an expansive gesture: It is promising to allocate $350 million in the form of economic aid and $60 million in the form of military aid to Caribbean and Central American countries in fiscal 1982 alone. It is hinted that in the future this sum could be nearly trebled. Trade and customs concessions are promised. But the American President stipulates that good deeds of this kind apply "only to friends or future friends."

Friends -- these are the region's pro-American dictatorial regimes: in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Haiti. Under a smokescreen of "aid for development needs" they will receive new financial injections. Thus, for instance, the lion's share of economic and military aid within the framework of the "Caribbean initiative" is intended for the bloody Salvadoran junta -- $100 million and $35 million respectively.

And "future friends" -- that is a more than transparent hint that the "carrot" from Washington well-wishers will be tasted only by those states in the region which renounce their independent political course and follow obediently in Washington's wake. And in order to make the "carrot" look sweeter, the swishing of the "stick" was heard repeatedly from the OAS platform: The American President once again launched attacks and threats against socialist Cuba, Nicaragua and the Salvadoran patriots.

It is characteristic that on the same day that Reagan described the "merits" of his "mini-Mrshall Plan" for the Caribbean, the U.S. CIA was forced to admit that a destroyer fitted with complex electronic equipment has been carrying out an intelligence watch for 2 months off the shores of Nicaragua and El Salvador, on CIA instructions. And the Pentagon announced that from 8 through 18 March major NATO naval maneuvers codenamed "Safe Pass-82" will be held in the Florida straits and the Gulf of Mexico, with the participation of 30 warships and 80 aircraft.

In a word, the U.S. "Caribbean initiative" is the same old line of political blackmail, economic pressure and bellicose waving of the "big stick." And its final aim is to knock together, under Washington's auspices, a military-political bloc of Caribbean and Central American states.

U.S. CARIBBEAN MANEUVERS RECALL TONKIN GULF

PM021603 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Feb 82 p 3

[Tass report: "Major Adventure in Preparation"]

[Text] Washington, 24 Feb -- The United States is preparing a major military adventure in Central America, seeking to break the growing national liberation movement in the region.

CBS television has reported that "the United States is beginning to show its naval muscle in the Caribbean not far from the shores of Nicaragua and El Salvador." American destroyers equipped with complex electronic espionage equipment have recently been plying the Gulf of Fonseca, in close proximity to the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran shores. In the opinion of observers, the Pentagon's active collecting of intelligence data on the situation in Central America constitutes practical preparation for a sharp intensification of American armed interference in the region of the side of the reactionary, dictatorial regimes. This is the first time, UPI notes, that American spy ships have appeared in the Gulf of Fonseca, and this "reflects the increased U.S. participation in the war between the Salvadoran regime and the guerrillas."

The presence of American warships in the Gulf of Fonseca, the New York TIMES writes, calls to mind the incidents involving American ships in the Gulf of Tonkin, which led to the "escalation of American participation in the Vietnam War." The newspaper recalls that a provocation was organized in the Gulf of Tonkin in 1964 with the participation of two American destroyers, after which Congress granted President L. Johnson the right to take "any military actions he considers necessary."

Thus the United States obtained a pretext for armed intervention in Southeast Asia. Those two destroyers were also equipped with complex electronic equipment.

In recent days Washington officials have been making transparent hints about the possibility of sending American troops to El Salvador to help the antipopular junta, which is suffering defeats at the hands of the patriots. At the same time President Reagan has approved a provocative plan for destabilizing a number of progressive states in the region, including a naval blockade and the use of armed bandit formations. In Washington, CBS notes, voices can be heard saying: "The United States will not tolerate another Cuba in the Caribbean."

In this connection the forthcoming major naval maneuvers by the United States and a number of its NATO allies, due to be held off shores of Cuba, take on a sinister coloring; observers regard them as blackmail with regard to independent Caribbean states. The provocative maneuvers, in which warships from the United States, Canada, Britain, the Netherlands and the FRG will take part, will be held from 27 February through 18 March. PRENSA LATINA writes in this connection that the forthcoming NATO naval exercises indicate new attempts by Washington to draw its north Atlantic bloc partners into its own aggressive plans in Central America. It is no accident, the agency notes, that the NATO manuevers take place when the campaign of threats and blackmail unleashed by the Reagan administration against Nicaragua is in full swing. The provocative manuevers are an integral part of U.S. interventionist designs in Central America against independent states.

Washington's stepping up of its plans for armed interference in Central Cmerica are causing increasing indignation in the United States itself. Congressmen T. Harkin and J. Oberstar, who have just returned from a trip to El Salvador, have called for an immediate end to military aid to the bloody Salvadoran junta.

SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT CANNOT STOP REVOLUTION

PY022140 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 1 Mar 82

[From the "Month of Solidarity With the Struggling Salvadoran People" feature]

[Text] The heroic Salvadoran people continue their struggle for democracy and national dignity. This is a report on the Salvadoran situation.

The Salvadoran junta cannot stop the growing revolutionary movement, neither with U.S. arms nor with the most ferocious repressions.

According to a declaration released by the FMLN, [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] the junta troops, including units of the Atlacal Strike Brigade trained by the Yankee Green Berets were not able to expel a rebel detachment from a large region close to the Guazapa Volcano, 40 km north of the capital.

The FMLN forces, after fierce battles in which the dictatorship used aircraft and artillery, repelled the enemy causing considerable losses in men and materiel. Even the personal participation of Defense Minister Jose Guillermo Garcia did not help this operation prepared by the U.S. advisers.

The Salvadoran regime — out of rage and powerlessness, supported by the ultraight group similar to the death squads -- sows terror among the defenseless civilian population. Soldiers of junta and paramilitary groups daily murder dozens of peaceful people who are suspected of sympathizing with the rebels.

The U.S. Government has the greatest responsibility in the Salvadoran tragedy. The Reagan administration has submitted to Congress a project for economic and military aid for other countries for the fiscal year of 1983. Washington intends to grant more than $166 million to the Salvadoran junta. Tbe junta will get a great number of combat helicopters, armored transport carriers, antiaircraft weapons and mortars. However, the junta high command apparently no longer has any faith in the success of the struggle against the rebels. They are urgently securing their rearguard in case of a victory by the patriots.

The radio station of the (?rebels) [words indistinct] large sums of money to foreign banks, Radio Venceremos particularly points out that this is what Colonel Flores Lima, Salvadoran Armed Forces chief of staff, did. Other government members are hurriedly going out to buy houses in Miami, Paraguay and Chile and are filling their pockets with stolen money and jewelry. Many of them [words indistinct] dollars in the black market which openly operates in the sight of the police. Venceremos also points that the son of the junta president, Duarte, is also involved in the machinations and lies.

GEORGADZE VIEWS CPSU NATIONALITIES POLICY

AU021720 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 82 pp 2-3

[Article by M. Georgadze, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: "Lenin's Nationalities Policy in Action"]

[Text] The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, have embarked on the year of the 60th anniversary of the birth of their united union multinational state. The 60th anniversary of the USSR is a living embodiment of the ideas of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, a convincing victory of proletarian internationalism and evidence of the triumph of Lenin's nationalities policy. The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR" notes that on its glorious anniversary the Soviet Union stands before the whole world as a harmonious family of equal republics that are jointly building communism.

1.

In 1919, when he was defining the outlines of the state structure in our Soviet multinational country, V.I. Lenin noted: "...We are internationalists through and through and we desire a voluntary alliance of workers and peasants of all nations" (Complete Collected Works Vol 38 p 184). Vladimir Ilich was profoundly convinced that such an alliance could be created only on the basis of the equality and mutual respect of all its participants: "We want a voluntary alliance of nations, an alliance based on the fullest trust, on a clear awareness of fraternal unity, on completely voluntary agreement" (Vol 40 p 43). With the victory of October and the establishment of social ownership of the means of production and with the acquisition of statehood by what had formerly been oppressed nations, those principles of Lenin's nationalities policy became reality and were embodied in the life of all Soviet nations and nationalities.

A firm state association of the peoples of the land of the soviets was necessitated by the objective course of social development and by the tasks of building a new society and of reliably defending the gains of October against the imperialist invasion. "Thus the vital interests of all the Soviet peoples", comrade L.I. Brezhnev has said, "and the entire logic of the struggle for socialism in our country demanded the formation of a united multinational socialist state. But the organizing role of the party, its correct policy and purposeful activity were needed for such a state to be created."

The CPSU carried out Herculean work to implement its internationalist course. This political and organizational work by the party among the working people's masses strengthened their movement for unity. The RSFSR, around which all the union republics rallied on a voluntary basis, played a decisive role in the creation of the union state. As the first multinational state, the Russian Federation was the prototype of the USSR, and the Russian people set vivid examples of selfless assistance to the working people of the national outlying districts.

The leading force in the international rallying of the peoples was the working class, which had earned the working people's recognition and trust by its heroic struggle for their liberation from social and national oppression and for the revolutionary restructuring of society. The consistent internationalism of the working class was also vividly manifested in the fact that it was a steadfast champion of Lenin's principle of the self-determination of nations in the name of the assertion of their voluntary alliance.

The process of the unification of the Soviet republics in a multinational socialist state was promoted in considerable measure by the united nature of the soviets -- truly representative organs of the working people which rallied the working peasantry, soldiers and sailors around the working class. The soviets were a school of political education for the broad people's masses. The democratism of the soviets helped them to express most fully the population's national and everyday peculiarities and helped to create diverse forms of national statehood.

With the assertion of Soveit power the party was faced with the task of finding the forms, the correlation between the rights of unionwide organs and of republics, that would to the greatest extent ensure the state unity of the peoples. In the fall of 1922 different trends emerged in the debate that had developed on these issues. Some people believed it was possible to stop at something like a confederation of republics, without creating united unionwide organs vested with great powers. Others proposed a so-called "autonomization" -- that is, the entry of all the fraternal republics into the RSFSR on the basis of principles of autonomy. It took Lenin's genius to surmount both these erroneous trends and to find the only correct way of uniting the peoples.

Lenin put forward the idea of creating a united union state in the form of a voluntary alliance of equal republics and formulated a plan for their unification on the basis of a soviet socialist federation that precluded coercion by one nation over another and ensured the conditions for the assertion of inviolable unity, friendship and fraternal cooperation of the peoples. On 6 October 1922 a Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) Central Committee plenum recognized the need for "the conclusion of a treaty between the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Federation of Transcaucasian republics and the RSFSR regarding their unification in a 'union of socialist soviet republics.'" That historic decision was approved by congresses of all the republics' soviets. Supporting their proposals, on 30 December 1922 the First All-Union Congress of Soviets unanimously adopted the declaration on the formation of the Union of Soviet Republics.

The creation of a united union state was a most important milestone in the historical destiny of all the country's peoples. The formation of the USSR and the entry of new Soviet republics into the union augmented the Soviet peoples' potential in building the new society and defending their revolutionary gains. Our victory in the great patriotic war graphically demonstrated the great vitality of the principles of Lenin's nationalities policy in state and military building.

The state unity of the republics ensured the correct siting of production forces in the country in the light of the division of social labor that had emerged historically, the elimination of the backwardness of the national outlying districts, the swift socioeconomic development of all the republics and ultimately the effective equality of all nations and nationalities. Suffice it to say that the Soviet Union's national income has increased many times over during the last 60 years. The USSR's share of world industrial output has risen from 1 percent in 1922 to 20 percent now.

"Life provides cogent evidence that the USSR is a dynamic and effective form of state association of the Soviet nations and nationalities designed for the whole historical period of the gradual development of socialist statehood into communist social self-management," the CPSU Central Committee resolution says.

2.

The building of developed socialism is a fitting culmination of the heroic efforts of the Soviet peoples, who, under the leadership of the Communist party, rallied into the USSR on the basis of the principles of internationalism. The mature socialist social relations and profound changes -- both material and spiritual -- in the lives of all the republics have accumulated [akkumulirovalis) in the new historic community of people whose name is the Soviet people!

Reflecting the high degree of social unity of the developed socialist society and the process of the formation of a classless structure in that society, the historic community is characterized by strengthening collaboration and rapprochement among all the USSR's nations and nationalities. Their international fraternity is gathering creative strength in the struggle to fulfill the 26th CPSU Congress decisions and the 11th 5-Year Plan targets.

Under the conditions of mature socialism, the friendship and fraternity of the USSR's peoples rest on a powerful economic base.

With the equalization, by and large, of the republics' levels of economic and cultural development, all the peoples have been enabled to extend mutual assistance to one another and their cooperation has become comprehensive. The formation and improvement of the country's united national economic complex have expanded the material foundations of the friendship among the USSR's nations and nationalities.

The party's course, as the 26th congress noted, envisages building up the material and spiritual potential of each republic and at the same time making maximum use of that potential for the harmonious development of the entire country. The party sees this as a necessary condition of Soviet society's progress, of the strengthening of the USSR's economic and defense might and of the growth of the working people's well-being. Centralized planning, combined with broad initiative for the union and autonomous republics, is the reliable way of ensuring the balanced and efficient development of the Soviet economy.

One of the most vivid manifestations of the peoples' collaboration under conditions of mature socialism is their participation in solving the problems of developing the agroindustrial complex and in forming the food program. These problems, which the 26th CPSU Congress drew to the attention of the whole people, are not only intersectorial but also interrepublican and a matter of fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance among all the USSR's nations and nationalities. The increasingly broad utilization of the country's total economic potential is becoming a necessary condition of the development of agriculture. The observance of this condition also requires a substantial increase in the scale, and expansion of the forms, of cooperation among the nations and nationalities.

The creation of large territorial production complexes and the resolution of unionwide national economic tasks such as the opening up of the fuel, energy and raw material wealth of the Siberian, far east and northern regions and of the Baykal-Amur Railroad zone promote the further upsurge of all the Soviet republics and therefore the growth of their contribution to communist creation.

In recent years the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone, which includes 29 oblasts and autonomous republics, has been singled out as a project for the faster devrlopment of the country's production forces. The other union republics are helping implement the vast, comprehensive program which the party has formulated for transforming this zone of the Russian Federation. In the light of the considerable shortage of manpower resources in the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone, these republics are sending there specialized construction and installation trains, mobile mechanized columns, equipment and, in summertime, student construction detachments.

At the present stage of communist building the economic and social ties between republics and their production, scientific and creative collectives are strengthening. For instance, more than 2,000 enterprises, 63 research insitutes and planning and design organizations from various republics of the country took part in constructing the giant motor vehicle plant in Naberezhnyye Chelnyy, and about 900 enterprises in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia and other republics have a hand in manufacturing the output of Riga's VEF [State Electrical Equipment Plant]. Such examples are cogent evidence that the unification of the Soviet peoples in the USSR augmented their creative strength and potential in creating the material and technical base of communism.

The formation of the USSR and the establishment of relations of friendship, trust and mutual assistance among the nations and nationalities also greatly accelerated our society's spiritual development. The last 60 years have seen the blossoming of a united international culture of the Soviet people which serves all the working people and expresses their common ideals and interests. It includes the most valuable features and traditions of the culture and daily life of each of our motherland's peoples. Socialist in content and in terms of the main trend in its development, diverse in its forms, and internationalist in spirit and character, Soviet culture is a great force in the ideological and moral cohesion of the USSR's nations and nationalities.

3.

Mature socialism graphically demonstrates the indissoluble interconnection between the blossoming and rapprochement of all the nations and nationalities and the deepening of socialist democracy. The adoption of the new Constitution in 1977 was a historic milestone in the USSR's development. It reflected our party's course of strengthening the union state and at the same time further developing the national statehood of the USSR's peoples. The federal form of state structure, embodying Lenin's principles of nationalities policy and the ideas of internationalism, has entirely vindicated the hopes of all the country's peoples. Soviet federalism, which played a tremendous role in developing their fraternal friendship, is now revealing its potential increasingly extensively and is ensuring the strengthening of our society's cohesion.

Characterizing the principles of the unity of union and national statehood, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has noted that the republics' sovereign rights are protected and guaranteed by the USSR. As inextricable elements of the united union state, all the Soviet republics have the same range of rights and duties in corresponding spheres of state activity and are identically represented in the supreme organs of Soviet power. It should be noted that the union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and okrugs send into the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities representatives of the working people of many of the nationalities living in them, and not just representatives of the nations or nationalities that gave their name to the national state formations.

Developed socialism has granted real opportunities to all nations and nationalities for increasingly broad and direct participation in the management of state and social affairs. The peoples' demands and requirements are considered and implemented via the system of party, state and social organizations. The mass state organs endowed with full powers -- the soviets of people's deputies -- are a vivid expression of the commonality of the peoples' political life and their close unity. There are people's emissaries of 61 nationalities in the USSR Supreme Soviet. In the February 1980 elections deputies of 64 nationalites were elected to local soviets in the Ukrainian SSR, and the corresponding figures for other republics are 36 for the Georgian SSR, 39 for the Azerbaijan SSR, and 23 for the Estonian SSR. There are representatives of 42 nationalities in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, of 19 in that of the Uzbek SSR, 13 in that of the Kazakh SSR, 13 in that of the Kirgiz SSR, 12 in that of the Tadzhik SSR and 12 in that of the Turkmen SSR. Thus our very reality rebuts the fantasies of bourgeois propaganda regarding the "political domination" of the Russian nation or any other nation in the relevant republic over the other peoples of the country.

The union republics take an active part in resolving questions of statewide significance. They (in the shape of the republic supreme organs of power) are granted the right of legislative initiative in the USSR Supreme Soviet. Before the most significant draft USSR state acts are submitted for discussion by the unionwide organs of power, they are sent to the union republics for their conclusions. There they are analyzed and studied, and changes and additions are made to them. In the last 3 years alone the republics have considered the drafts of acts such as the laws on elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, on citizenship, on people's control, on the prosecutor's office, on the conservation of the air of the atmosphere and on the conservation and utilization of the animal world, and the fundamentals of housing legislation.

The creative implementation of Leninist principles of national state building and the increase in the activity of the soviets are largely conditioned by the activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which keeps constant sight of the most important questions of the state life of the country's peoples. The standing commissions of the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities, which have 1,140 deputies, carry out fruitful work. They pay unremitting attention to developing the national economy and improving the Soviet people's well-being.

A most important guarantee of the continued development and blossoming and indissoluble unity of the USSR's nations and nationalities is the directing role of the CPSU, which unites the best representatives of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia of all republics. The increase in the CPSU's leading role in our society's life ensures the stability of the processes of the blossoming and rapprochement of socialist nations.

The strengthening of the union state, the firm unity of the peoples that has taken shape in the USSR and the emergence of the new historic community of people promote the rapid and profound assimilation of the ideas of internationalism by the country's citizens. But internationalist traditions and norms are not formed and developed spontaneously; the everyday purposeful work of the party and its numerous organizations has a decisive influence on that process. The CPSU constantly keeps in mind the interests of the whole country and of each republic, and the interests of communist building.

The CPSU sensitively sees that the new processes and problems in the sphere of national relations that are constantly generated by the development of a large multinational state such as ours are reflected fully and in timely fashion in the activity of party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations and economic organs. As the 26th CPSU Congress pointed out, the correct means of implementing this task is strict observance of scientific principles of leadership, a Leninist work style and Leninist cadre policy and the proper representation in each republic's party and state organs of all the peoples inhabiting it.

National feelings and a person's national dignity are respected in our country. The CPSU has fought and will always fight resolutely against phenomena alien to the nature of socialism such as chauvinism or nationalism and against any nationalist kinks, be they anti-Semitism, say, or Zionism. By all its activity and purposeful ideological work the party educates working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and of a proud sense of belonging to the great united Soviet motherland.

"Actively to implement our party's wise Leninist nationalities policy — a farsighted and principled, tactful and delicate policy," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has pointed out. "To give every assistance to the development and spiritual enrichment of each of the nations that make up the Soviet Union and at the same time to create scope for the great historic process of strengthening the Soviet people's unity — that is our path."

Implementing Lenin's nationalities policy, the party instills in Soviet people the ability to be clearly aware that the performance of their international duty in fact means for everyone above all conscientious, enterprising, creative labor for the common good, the improvement of the efficiency and quality of work in every possible way, and active participation in resolving the tasks of the whole people and in further strengthening the economic and defense might of the USSR and the world socialist community, which exemplifies the new type of international relations among sovereign, equal states. The Soviet Union's cooperation with the national liberation movements of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and with liberated states fighting against imperialism, for the consolidation of their national independence and for social progress is developing.

As they greet the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, the Soviet peoples are proud of their achievements and of the historic revolutionary mission that is being fulfilled by the motherland of October, which is marching in the front ranks of fighters for the implementation of Lenin's strategy of peace and for the elimination of the threat of nuclear war. The peace program for the eighties put forward by the 26th CPSU Congress is rightly the center of attention for all the world's honest people.

The formation and successful development of the USSR is of enduring international significance and marks an important historical milestone in the age-old struggle of progressive mankind for equality and friendship of the peoples and for the revolutionary renewal of the world.

KUZNETSOV AT KREMLIN HEALTH COMMISSION SESSION

LD030118 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] A joint session of the Health and Social Security Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet took place today in the Kremlin. The question of the fulfillment by the Ministry of the Medical Industry of the recommendations of the standing commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet on increasing the production of medicines with the aim of improving medical aid to the population was discussed. The commission drew up measures directed toward removing insufficiencies. Kuznetsov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, took part in the work of the commissions.

ELECTORAL MEETING CONVENED IN TURKMEN SSR

GF030534 Ashkhabad Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] The Turkmen Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers held a joint meeting in Ashkhabad today. Secretaries of the republic's oblast, city and rayon soviet executive committees were invited to the meeting. The meeting discussed tasks of the soviet executive committees in preparing for and carrying out elections of people's deputies. The forthcoming elections represent an important political event as they are carried out at a time when the country is preparing for celebrations to mark the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Union. They are an important factor in mobilizing workers for fulfilling and overfulfilling tasks and socialist pledges during the 2d year of the current 5-year plan period.

The meeting adopted concrete measures in preparation for the elections, which will be carried out in accordance with Turkmen law. The meeting also discussed measures aimed at carrying out the elections in a way that meets the requirements of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the speech delivered by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev at that congress.

The meeting was addressed Comrade Schmidt, member of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Turkmen Supreme Soviet Presidium. The meeting was attended by Comrade Karryyev and Mishchenko, members of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee; (Razmukhamedov) and [Name indistinct], deputy chairmen of the Turkmen Council of Ministers; and Comrade Belonozhkina, chief of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee's General Department.

UZBEK WRITERS UNION CRITIZES NEW NOVEL

WA021030 [Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SANATI in Uzbek on 22 January carries on page 7 a 400-word review of a recently published novel. The article reports on the meeting of the secretariat of the Uzbek writers union, held on 18 January, at which the novel "The Eternal Cliffs" by the "young talented writer" Mamadali Mahmudov was discussed. The article lists those who spoke at the meeting and "analyzed in depth and detail the good and bad aspects of the novel and frankly indicated the defects and mistakes that were committed." Mahmudov "committed certain errors in his approach on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodology toward realistic depiction of historical past conditions. It is sometimes difficult to know which class of social group his heroes represent." The mistakes are a result of his lack of experience and the fact that he is still in the early years of his creative work. "The editorial office of the journal SHARQ YULDUZI failed to do a good job by not carrying out serious editorial work" on the novel. At the end of the discussion by the secretariat of the writers union Mahmudov spoke, expressed gratitude for the discussion and announced that he would take into consideration the critical ideas expressed and revise the novel in a fundamental way."

CURRENT VENUS PROBE EXPERIMENTS DESCRIBED

LD021640 Moscow TASS in English 1603 GMT 2 Mar 82

[Text] Moscow, 2 Mar, TASS -- TASS special correspondent writes: Workers in the world's youngest science, planetology, have for the first time got an opportunity to have a look at colour close-up pictures of Venus thanks to the latest Soviet probe of that planet.

Both telephometres aboard the Soviet probe did very well. This time they were equipped with three colour filters. Specialists had not expected that the actual duration of the session will be almost four times longer than the estimated (the estimated duration was under-rated against the contingency of minimum radio visibility) and planned for two modes of operation, one with a viewing angle of up to 60 degrees (reduced) and another with that of up to 125 degrees (full).

There was enough time to use all the filters (red, green and blue) in succession on both instruments. In this way comprehensive initial information was obtained to build up the first colour panoramic view of Venus. The mechanical scanning device was operating without a hitch. As compared with the first telepanorama, obtained in 1975, the optical resolution power of the instruments had improved as well. Individual elements of the surface measuring 4-5 mm are visible in the picture taken from a distance of a metre and a half.

Scientists will transpose the picture from the magnetic tapes, which back on earth recorded signals from Venus, onto three negatives done in the red, green and blue colours. Then the computers which have processed the three negatives will superimpose them and produce a colour slide from the distant planet.

But even now it can be said that the rocks on the surface of Venus are mostly dark brown.

The programme of the flight to Venus and soft landing there was similar to those used by earlier probes Nos 11 and 12.

However important it was to realize the new idea, the transmission of colour pictures from Venus, scientists had been preparing no less thoroughly for other, perhaps seemingly not as sensational operations, such as rock sampling and analysis. On the moon with its low gravity and zero atmosphere the task was somewhat simpler. The rocket needed little fuel to bring lunar rock back to earth.

The return of the craft from Venus is an exceptionally complex task, and that was why scientists have long been meeting the idea of sending express laboratories to planets. American specialists, in particular, have succeeded in exploring Martian soil for presence of organic life. The composition of Venus rocks and their strength and electric conductivity constitute a major enigma in planetology. The solution of this problem can drastically affect our knowledge of common geological features of the solar system and our planet.

Soviet engineers pioneered sample drilling on celestial bodies: They had the first samples of lunar rocks brought back to earth. The first "geologist," on Venus, of course, has done a far more modest job. But it had to operate at plus 500 degrees centigrade and at very high pressures. One cubic centimeter was enough to analyse rocks for their chemical composition, and the drilling device had been designed precisely to take a sample of one cubic centimeter. It is no easy matter to drill overheated basalt rock with a metal tool. But the makers of the space drill overcame all difficulties.

The unprepossessing principle of the vacuum cleaner was used to suck the sample inside the descent module (fine analysis required that pressure be brought down to 50 mm of the mercury column and that temperature be not higher than 40 degrees centigrade).

Loosened rocks were sucked into a chamber for analysis by the difference between the pressures within and without. Then the craft ejected the surplus of Venus gases which had got in along with rocks and passed the latter on for "x-ray examination" to determine their chemical composition.

Several more instruments were mounted on the sharp rocks of Venus. One was a vari-coloured plate to verify the authenticity of colour reproduction in the panoramic picture. A clever method was used to determine the mechanical strength of rocks: A special rod powered by springs impressed a metal stamp into the ground. Since the strength of the springs and torque were known, and the angle of inclination of the rod was observed during the telecommunication session, engineers will now be able to compute the mechanical strength of rocks.

The same rod was used to measure the electric conductivity of the ground.

COSMOS-1341 ARTIFICIAL EARTH SATELLITE LAUNCHED

LD031250 Moscow TASS in English 1246 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] Moscow, 3 Mar, TASS — Another artificial satellite of the earth in the Cosmos series, the Cosmos-1341, was launched in the USSR today. The satellite carries scientific instrumentation to carry on space research.

The satellite was put into an orbit with the following parameters: initial orbit period, 11 hours 49 minutes; the maximum distance from the earth's surface, 40,165 km; the minimum distance, 614 km; and orbital inclination, 62.8 degrees.

The apparatus is functioning normally.

PONOMAREV ATTENDS ACADEMY OF SCIENCES MEETING

LD031158 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 3 Mar 82

[Text] The annual general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences opened in Moscow today. Those taking part are summing up the activities of scientists in the year that has passed since the 26th CPSU Congress. In the Presidium of the meeting are Ponomarev, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and leaders of the academy. The meeting was opened by Academician Aleksandrov, president of the country's Academy of Sciences.

A report was delivered by Academician Skryabin, chief learned secretary of the academy's Presidium. The year that has passed since the party congress, the scientist stressed, has been marked by enhanced involvement of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the drafting of long-term comprehensive scientific-technological programs and programs for the resolution of the most important scientific-technological problems. One hundred and seventy interindustry programs have been compiled; there should be significant national economic results from 40 of these in the current 5-year period.

Speaking about the achievements in implementation of the space research program, Academician Skryabin noted the Salyut-6 station, with which record duration manned flights are connected. The scientist noted that complications in the international atmosphere, which became more profound last year in connection with the coming to power of a new administration in the United States, have not managed to have any serious effect on the general development of scientific cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences and other capitalist countries.

In conclusion, the rapporteur expressed confidence that the scientists of our country will make every effort to fulfill and overfulfill the plans of the 11th Five Year Plan.

BRIEFS

NEW ORBITA SATELLITE — The north Baykal area is now receiving television thanks to a new Orbita satellite. Nizheangarekoye is receiving two color television channels, and other areas in the Buryat sector have also benefited. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 2 Mar 82 LD]

TEXT OF USTINOV ORDER MARKING ARMY, NAVY DAY

PM031003 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Feb 82 p 1

[Text of "USSR Defense Minister's Order of the Day No 53"]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Feb — Comrade soldiers and sailors, sergeants and petty officers!

Comrade ensigns and warrant officers!

Comrade officers, generals and admirals!

Comrade veterans of the USSR Armed Forces!

Today the Soviet people solemnly celebrate the 64th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy.

Our motherland's working people and army and navy servicemen are greeting this festival in an atmosphere of great political and labor enthusiasm. The socialist competition for successful fulfillment of the historic decisions of the 26th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee November (1981) plenum and the targets for the second year of the 5-year plan and for a fitting greeting for the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation has been mounted throughout the country.

Soviet people warmly approve and unanimously support the party's domestic and foreign policy and the multifaceted activity of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo, headed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, that loyal continuer of Lenin's great cause. The unbreakable unity of the party and the people and the friendship and fraternity of all the USSR's nations and nationalities are steadily strengthening.

The peace program for the eighties adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress is having a tremendous influence on international development. Together with the fraternal socialist countries and all the world's peace-loving forces, the Soviet Union is seeking to curb the arms race, preserve and deepen the process of easing tension and assert the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems.

The peace-loving Leninist policy of the USSR and the entire socialist community is countered by the aggressive policy of militant [voinstvuyushchiy] circles in the United States and other NATO countries. Gambling on achieving military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact, they are continuing to aggravate the international situation and are escalating the arms rade. Imperialist reaction is grossly interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign states, conducting a malicious campaign of attacks on the Polish People's Republic and the Republic of Cuba, continuing the undeclared war against the DRA and fanning hotbeds of tension in the Near East and other parts of the world. The policy of China's leaders is assisting the plans of imperialism's most aggressive forces.

Under these conditions the CPSU and the Soviet state, persistently pursuing a Leninist peace-loving foreign policy, are doing everything necessary to strengthen the country's defensive capability and enhance the armed forces' combat readiness. Created by V.I. Lenin and the Communist Party, our armed forces are vigilantly and reliably guarding the Soviet people's peaceful labor and socialism's great gains in a single combat formation with the Warsaw Pact states' fraternal armies. They are always ready to fulfill their patriotic and international duty with honor.

Comrade servicemen of the USSR Armed Forces!

I congratulate you on the nationwide holiday — Soviet Army and Navy Day! I wish all armed forces personnel new successes in combat and political training, mastering modern weapons and combat hardware, improving field, air and sea training, strengthening military discipline and organization and enhancing the combat readiness of units and ships.

To mark the 64th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy I order that:

Festive fireworks be set off at 2100 hours local time on 23 February 1982 in our motherland's capital -- the hero-city of Moscow -- in the union republics' capitals, in the hero-cities of Leningrad, Volgograd, Odessa, Sevastopol, Novorossiysk, Kerch and Tula, in the hero-fortress of Brest and also in the cities of Kaliningrad, Lvov, Rostov-Na-Donu, Kuybyshev, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, Chita, Khabarovsk, Vladivostok and Severomorsk.

Hail the 64th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy!

Long live the heroic Soviet people and their valiant armed forces!

Glory to the CPSU -- the inspirer and organizer of all our victories!

[Signed] Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Ustinov, USSR minister of defense.

PETROV ADDRESSES MOSCOW ARMY, NAVY DAY RALLY

PM021711 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Feb 82 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Ceremonial Meeting in Moscow"]

[Text] The Soviet Army central academy theater was bedecked with flags and banners. On 22 February representatives of Moscow's working people, servicemen of the capital's garrison and army and navy veterans came here to celebrate the 64th anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces.

At 1700 hours seats in the presidium of the ceremonial meeting were taken by Marshal of the Soviet Union D.F. Ustinov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense; I.S. Usmankhodzhayev and M.A. Yasnov, deputy chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; L.V. Smirnov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; L.F. Dmitriyev and N.I. Savinkin, chiefs of the CPSU Central Committee sections; Academician A.P. Aleksandrov, president of the USSR Acadeny of Sciences; USSR Ministers I.S. Silayev, B.P. Bugayev, S.A. Afanasyev, E.K. Pervyshin and P.S. Pleshakov; Marshal of the Soviet Union N.V. Ogarkov, chief of the Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister; Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General A.A. Yepishev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; V.I. Konotop, first secretary of Moskovskiy Obkom; Army General G.K. Tsinev, first deputy chairman of the USSR KGB; Army General V.F. Tolubko, Army General V.I. Petrov, Air Marshal A.I. Koldunov, Air Chief Marshal P.S. Kutakhov, Admiral of the Fleet of the Soviet Union S.G. Gorshkov, Army General S.K. Kurkotkin, Army General V.M. Shabanov, Marshal of Engineering Troops N.F. Shestopalov and Army General I.N. Shkadov, USSR deputy defense ministers; Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Director; Marshal of the Soviet Union P.F. Batitskiy; Colonel General A.S. Zheltov, chairman of the Soviet War Veterans Committee; Fleet Admiral G.M. Yegorov, chairman of the USSR DOSAAF; marshals of categories of troops, generals, admirals and officers; representatives of party, soviet and public organizations; designers of combat hardware and arms; and USSR pilot-cosmonauts.

The ceremonial meeting was opened by B.V. Nikolskiy, secretary of Moscow Gorkom.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo, headed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, was elected honorary presidium to the tumultuous applause of those present.

Soviet servicemen were warmly and cordially greeted and congratulated on the festival on behalf of the capital's working people by B.T. Karlakov, fitter at the Moscow polishing machine plant and holder of the Order of Lenin, and on behalf of Komsomol members and young people by D.A. Okromiy, secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee.

In his speech Army General V.I. Petrov, USSR deputy defense minister, cordially congratulated the assembled people and all armed forces personnel on Soviet Army and Navy Day and passed on combat greetings from Comrade Marshal of the Soviet Union L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the USSR Defense Council.

Every Soviet Armed Forces anniversary, Army General V.I. Petrov said, is a great and joyous festival of our people's combat glory and of the courage and valor of their armed defenders, who for 64 years now have been standing vigilantly on guard over peace and socialist gains and serving faithfully to guard our motherland's sacred borders. It is significant that it coincides with the first anniversary of the 26th CPSU Congress. The country's working people and servicemen, closely rallied around the Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee, headed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, are implementing with tremendous enthusiasm the tasks set by the party congress and the CPSU Central Committee November (1981) plenum.

The Soviet people, employed on creative labor, are vitally interested in preserving peace. The Leninist foreign policy being purposefully pursued by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government meets with the masses' warm approval. The Soviet Union's peace initiatives are supported by the fraternal socialist countries. They encounter understanding among all the world's honest people.

At the same time, Comrade V.I. Petrov went on to say, the policy of peace and creation is having to be pursued under the complex international conditions.

Under conditions of an ever-increasing threat of war the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government combine consistent and persistent struggle for peace with a firm rebuff to imperialism's aggressive forces. They do not for one single day lose sight of questions of reliably ensuring the country's security and strengthening its defense might and the armed forces' combat readiness.

On the basis of the common successes of the Soviet economy, science and technology and the people's selfless labor the Soviet Army and Navy today have all they need to repulse aggression. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has emphasized, our state's economic, scientific and technical potential is such that it can ensure the creation of any military hardware and weapon on which an aggressor might try to gamble.

The close and indissoluble link with the people is one of the chief sources of our armed forces' strength, might, invincibility and high combat ability. The troops feel the life-giving force of the people's love every day and every hour. The armed forces' personnel are familiarizing themselves with the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the 60th Anniversary of the USSR's Formation" with profound interest.

Expressing their filial gratitude to the motherland and our party for their utmost concern and attention, Soviet servicemen are clearly aware that their contribution to the struggle of the whole people to implement the 26th congress plan and the 11th 5-Year Plan consists in further enhancing the combat readiness of units and ships. The 26th CPSU Congress highly evaluated the modern state of the army and navy.

They have arrived at this year's festival with new successes in combat and political training. Servicemen of subunits, units and ships have joined in the socialist competiton in honor of the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation under the motto "Reliably Defend the Soviet People's Peaceful Labor!" and are successfully mastering complex combat hardware, fulfilling combat training tasks with high indicators and grasping the difficult military science of defeating a strong and technically well-armed enemy.

On the armed forces' portentous day, Army General V.I. Petrov said in conclusion, army and navy servicemen assure the party's Central Committee and the Soviet Government that in close combat cooperation with the Warsaw Pact countries' armies they will continue to stand vigilantly on guard over peace and the peoples' security and defend socialism's historic gains.

A greetings letter to the CPSU Central Committee and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev was unanimously adopted to tumultous and prolonged applause.

After the ceremonial part a grand festive concert took place.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA EDITORIAL ON ARMY, NAVY DAY

PM030853 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Feb 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Beloved of the People"]

[Excerpts] Today is a big festival in our country -- Soviet Army and Navy Day. For 64 years now the army and navy have been keeping an untiring combat watch to defend Great October's gains and socialism's epoch-making gains.

Through the will, intellect and labor of our multinational people the Soviet Armed Forces are equipped with the most modern weapons and first-class combat hardware and are provided with all they need to reliably defend the homeland and socialism's gains. The large amount of hardware at their disposal, their military skill and their uncrushable morale constitute the combat potential of our army and navy, with which they have attained the 64th anniversary of their birth.

The sons and grandsons of the Great Patriotic War heroes now stand in their combat formations. They have not endured the grim trials which fell to the lot of their fathers and grandfathers, the 26th CPSU Congress pointed out. But they are true to the heroic traditions of our army and our people, and whenever the interests of the country's security and the defense of peace so demand and whenever it is necessary to help victims of aggression, the Soviet serviceman appears before the world as a disinterested and courageous patriot and internationalist ready to surmount any difficulties.

The high assessment of the USSR Armed Forces that rang out exactly 1 year ago from the rostrum of the 26th CPSU Congress inspires army and navy personnel to scale new heights in training and service and in military labor. The past year was a period of strenuous struggle by the motherland's armed defenders to further enhance the combat readiness of units, ships and subunits. With the sense of a duty discharged, Soviet servicemen today report on increased field, air and sea training and on the ability to make still more efficient use of modern weapons and the latest hardware. The Zapad-81 exercise were a genuine report to the party and the people. They were not only an important stage on the path of the combat improvement of troops and naval forces but also developed into a bright new demonstration of the unbreakable unity of the army and the people.

While regarding the army as their reliable defender, at the same time Soviet people see it as a loyal assistant in resolving important national economic tasks and as a splendid school of labor and military training, moral purity and courage, patriotism and comradeship. Our armed forces' educational role is steadily increasing. This is the result of the multifaceted work of commanders, political organs and staffs. The result of increased party influence on all aspects of army and navy life and activity, as evidenced by the preparations underway for the upcoming all-army conference of primary party organization secretaries.

Soviet servicement lead a full-blooded life saturated with important events and urgent matters. They are profoundly aware of the tremendous responsibility entrusted to them by the people, the party and the state. This responsibility has increased still further under the conditions of the present international situation, which has been deliberately wrought up to the limit by imperialist powers' reactionary circles.

The leaders of the aggressive NATO bloc, the United States above all, are stubbornly pursuing a policy of upsetting the established military equilibrium in their favor and have embarked on a path of mounting provocations against the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries. The adventurist actions of the United States and its accomplices have increased the danger of war. All this demands constant vigilance, the further enhancement of combat readiness and the strengthening of discipline and organizations of Soviet servicemen.

The main efforts of our military cadres and of all army and navy personnel are now aimed at resolving the urgent tasks stemming from this. They honorably justify the trust shown in them by the people and the party and value their love and concern beyond all measure. Socialist competition has been mounted widely in the armed forces in honor of the USSR's upcoming 60th anniversary under the motto "Reliably Defend the Soviet People's Peaceful Labor." There is no doubt that army and navy personnel will respond to the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the 60th Anniversary of the USSR's Formation" with new successes in military labor, training service.

Soviet servicemen embody the best qualities of our people -- their mind and talent, patriotism and high political awareness, diligence and selflessness. They are closely united beneath the party's Leninist banner, are infinitely devoted to its great cause -- the cause of communist building -- and are always capable of reliably defending socialism's gains and dealing a crushing rebuff to any aggressor.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA ON BOOKS BY MILITARY LEADERS

PM030931 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Feb 82 p 3

[TASS report: "To Faithfully Serve the Motherland and the Cause of Communism"]

[Text] "We Serve the Motherland and the Cause of Communism" [Sluzhim Rodine, Delu Kommunizma] -- this is the title of a book by Marshal of the Soviet Union D.F. Ustinov, USSR minister of defense, just published by the Military Publishing House in the popular series "Implementing the 26th CPSU Congress Decisions."

It describes how Soviet people under the CPSU's leadership are implementing the impressive plans for communist creation and struggle for peace and the people's security outlined by the party congress. It reveals the nationwide nature of the defense of the socialist homeland the main tasks and directions in further enhancing the USSR Armed Forces' combat readiness.

Army and navy servicemen well understand what high responsibility is entrusted to them by the party and the people under the conditions of the present international situation, when militant U.S. and NATO circles are accelerating militarist preparations with a view to upsetting the military-strategic equilibrium that has taken shape in the world and achieving the unachievable -- military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact. The high assessment that Comrade Marshal of the Soviet Union L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the USSR Defense Council, made of the armed forces at the 26th party congress inspires servicemen to new successes in combat and political training and in daily service, the book states.

At the same time the Military Publishing House has published three more books in this series: "Always Ready to Defend the Homeland" [Vsegda V Gotovnosti K Zashchite Otechestva] by Marshall of the Soviet Union N.V. Ogarkov, chief of the Armed Forces General Staff and USSR First deputy defense minister; "Collective Defense of Socialism" [Kollektivnaya Zashchita Sotsializma] by Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G, Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Warsaw Paxt states' joint armed forces; and "Faithful to the Party's Ideas" [Ideyam Partii Verny] by Army General A.A. Yepishev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.